424 correct answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
779 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
825 stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[562] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of sympathy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
424 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
773 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[535] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea-
[304] tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected over his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
~~424~~ family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

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[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were boiled for a long time and then ground into a powder. [illegible] for use by mixing with water. So far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

614 The outcome of this process of loss is the assimilation to
an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral
553 family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and
178 friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in
773 a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
614 not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative
wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth
424 in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example,
551 several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thence-
542 forth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in
535 question. The same principle governs all dance masks; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

554 *556 562 [553] chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. [562] Most names given to children, though embodied in origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 *556 622 [353] With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn between chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a man's influence in the community has become so great that he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for him a memorial seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." [626] The contempt shown to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

[352] [353] On the memorial seat are carved the man's ancestral crests, in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a memorial seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

622 623 778 [575] there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the *kusiut*, which is on a ledge of rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some 178 538 778 [241] of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing songs; they pecked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

622 623 201 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot, in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

571 622 623 [152] The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

* 556 Presently the guests assemble, those who are sisaok wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
257 in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
292 slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The
554 heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant
exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair.
It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[208] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to
his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In
some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but
as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is
sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake
the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial
gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[183] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with
whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[178] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first
course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food
in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a
fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more
he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who
gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
559 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
425 outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
424 be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
● 589 certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly
bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral
name.

553
* 556 425 [604] [599] A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his [603] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

* 556 782 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

[756] Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

* 556 611 621 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial sacred knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them 556*
to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the 618
kusiut members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding 628
party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law.

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on 556*
the question: 618

> The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches
> that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a repre- [578]
> sentation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, oper-
> ated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure [532]
> which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made
> it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that [578]
> the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings.
> This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the [177]
> coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this
> informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they [754]
> employed a shaman for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity.

> Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual
> occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone- [534]
> shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the [177]
> white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long [754]
> all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior kusiut.

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their 556*
guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers.

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [185]

533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at once any number of *kusiut* rush in and conduct him, concealed
• 556 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *kusiut*
575 of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated,
● [782] by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tatwinam*,"[49] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[50] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *kusiut* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

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[49] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A manifestation."

[50] If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *kusiut* at the actual ceremony.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
177 time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
[796] duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *susaak* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

● 532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[969] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *susaak* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *susaak* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *susaak* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *susaak* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
535 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
● [532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
* 556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[11] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16). 1/1

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[821]
[796] [11] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

1/1 [See cat 196, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
• 556 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
484 wishes to form the escort. As a *sisaok* whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior *sisaok*, or that
[575] a *siki* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
[648] since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *sisaok* mask, which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
• [532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575
which have already been announced and validated among the
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign 553
guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that
these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to
act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and
abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the
second name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing
to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize
the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new
designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds [203]
repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the second
name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 324
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast
commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the
leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a
spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor [592]
appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have
been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who
thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 533
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *[illegible]*. Each
of these has been handed down from the distant past, when 556*
some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a
potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

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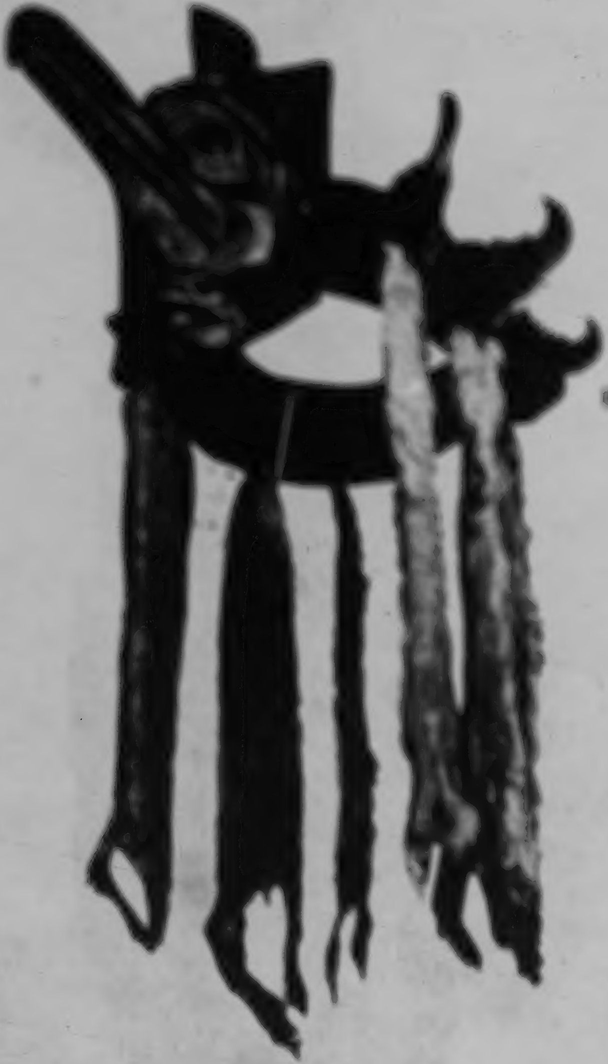
PLATE [illegible]



Sisaok head-dress

[facing p 218]

[illegible]
[illegible]

533 earliest ancestors, and the tune is constantly grandiloquently
534 phrased. Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
● 537 They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest to add dignity to the rite.

223 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

552 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

*536 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

*551
513 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *novel* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *novel* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

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*Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle's down being blown over a sisauk dancer

[facing p219]

6 556 164 logs to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

6 556 969 535 575 [538] Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[illegible] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *sisaok* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *sisaok* or *siki* returns, and the audience, all awed by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *sisaok* society. [532] If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *sisaok* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, [533] the note of which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

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[illegible] Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

[illegible]

[illegible]

means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he 556*
swoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with 764
pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and
retires through the front door, always attended by a number 535
of *xaaad*. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, 575
and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-
built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which [539]
casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience.
The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion,
stalk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is [532]
carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an [532]
eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is [114]
believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior *xaaad* goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

* 536 465 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[illegible] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	20.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[illegible]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back room[illegible]	40.00

[485] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

496 *556 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 231). This is known as *[illegible]*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so. [867]

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

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● [532 342]

[illegible] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[illegible] Four men would work together on this task.

[illegible] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

[illegible], clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young *kusiut* who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the [illegible] whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with cries and groans. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *kusiut* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the *kusiut* discuss loudly with one another about how the "magic" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556 * 575 788

The employment of a foreign [illegible] to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *kusiut* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *kusiut* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [777] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Alquntam*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible. 211 556* 771 [773] [614]

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes. [171]

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Alkwi* (I, p. 312), for [532]

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[1] Sdaiaini, "Outside Post."

211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings
778 towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient
[778] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Asnal*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of
[431 design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
622 for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity,
606] in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

[illegible]
[illegible]

2

use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the 771
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's.
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with [773]
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[8] One of the first settlers, *[illegible]* (I, p. [illegible]), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony concerned with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[9] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

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[8] *[illegible]* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[9] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors. [184] [182] [115]

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
778 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
532 either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral crests by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by potlatch, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

COPPERS

556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177]
[439] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made

*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435 depends on the amount expended on it.
437] The $10 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
435 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[556 the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Sisaok* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

435 Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $10, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony
●[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
*556 Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
#556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[426] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods
[436] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that
#556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in support to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

#556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or currency,
[436] since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[211] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks
[532] of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose,
[435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum 556*
of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these [435]
media, debts are passed from one individual to another without [426]
actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella 424
Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's
name is his only because his ancestral family has the preroga- 556*
tive of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific
totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, [532] ●
seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life.
Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but [796]
on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the pro-
perty of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution [431]
of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is ex-
pended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most [627]
Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one indi-
vidual on another's rights. [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there 424
are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a
man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, al- 463
though the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative 556*
only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

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[551]
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All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *[illegible]*, another is *ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditised. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

[532]
[789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

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[183]

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

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[424]
[463]
[431]
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The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER 335

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their 424
trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, 463
also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they
can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man 555
who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents.
The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever
trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially,
a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is
admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem.
In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an [553]
effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that
direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make 335
canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the 773
beginning of time, *Yulätimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;*
he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have
a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural
being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe [829]
the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulätimut*
married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the
world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the 335
old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were
always respected as esteemed members of the community. [554]
Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food
at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy,
and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized [777]
the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has
it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters.
Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter
who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and [532]
takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held
responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use
or for mechanical defects.

holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and 556
requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. 575
Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme [533]
always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The 532
carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either 556
human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs 575
the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *xlästnum*, when the work for the potlatch is 556
allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined 575
within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisaok* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *siki*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with [184]
the type worn by *sisaok*, one of the many points of resemblance [535]

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539 575 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Āłkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Āłkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anukalwaitik* was a good place for a ceremony because *Āłkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[illegible] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Āłkwi* danced [535] a *waxpual* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *waxpual* dance.

In later years, *Āłkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that [551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nuskalmaltaml*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Āłkwi*, [103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tsapiaktl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tsapiaktl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 578 A few words should be said about the reputed early history of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[illegible] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

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[532] [illegible] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[illegible] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. x.

*539 Many people landed on this mountain from on high, among others the chief *Nusmát·a* or *Ḳoqmai*. He had brought with him from above a house, called *Kämälcomq* which, when set up on this earth, grew so large that all the owner's family and descendants could live within. Outside the door, *Nusmát·a* had caused the erection of a totem-pole, *Nuxlomq*. Within dwelt Echo, an incessant talker, who was very clever at learning languages; his rolling voice reverberated through the house and the whole countryside. This being acted as herald and summoned people to a [592] dance by using the word *Nusmaqlika*; whenever a descendant of *Nusmát·a* gives a potlatch he makes a mask with an ever-changing mouth to represent Echo.

Not long after the completion of the house and totem-pole *Nusmát·a* set out one evening to fish for salmon with the aid of torches, taking with him his infant son and several followers. During their absence a snow-slide wiped out the town, killing all the inhabitants except one slave who concealed himself within the hollow totem-pole. The slide was due to the mountain being angry at the totem-pole, carved to represent him as he was before he changed to mountain form. When the survivors returned to their buried village they at once set about rebuilding it. In time, as the people increased in numbers, it again became prosperous. They built a fish-weir to supply their wants, using tools of stone obtained from Mount *Nusqalst*. *Älkwi*, the son of a *Stuic chief*, married *Nusmát·a*'s daughter, *Shemaulim·a*, and *Nusmát·a* moved to *Ḳomqo·ts*.

Other narrators provided a little further information about *Nusqalst*. While still in human form, he wore a flat-topped hat with broad brim around which ran two snakes. After he had been changed to stone as a mountain, several individuals looked down on him from above and chose his slopes as a landing-place, thus making him their crest. The first to do so is said to have been a man named *Oʻqmai*.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxlias**

In the very beginning of time, before the sky was made, *Älquntäm* sent down to *Nuxlias* three brothers and their two sisters. The names by which the men have been remembered are *Mikomq*, *Kämälcomq*, *Snowmäks*, and the women, *Senoman·a* and *satoman·i*. They came to earth as golden eagles, bearing the beaver as food. The youngest sister refused to change her form, and wandered around in a semi-human condition, becoming frenzied at the slightest excuse. At length her dis- [108]

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*Related by Joshua Moody.

cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 539*

Returned to [illegible] they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Kʼlaiɫlotl.* In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above [illegible] they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oqsmai.* The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudusonx**'s name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, [illegible], who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oqsmai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Ɫáliaɫlotl,* fitted with copper paddles. *Dudusonx** married [illegible], who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudusonx**'s name.

"*Dudusonx**," he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwaostshiɫ,** it travels with its own power."

*Dudusonx** was unwilling to part with *Ɫáliaɫlotl,* but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudusonx** cast into the water one of the fish which *Ālquntām* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudusonx** threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every fiord on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Ɫálɫaml,* a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudusonx** was received as a benefactor and given the name [illegible]. After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Ālkwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix.* [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix.* That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ālquntām* had shown to *Ālkwi* [824] [532]

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*[illegible] is a merganser.

*539 ● 532 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, *Nusȩmda*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Ăl·jikotl.*[35]

[551] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Kănilkus* was the relator of it; her *susaok* song deals with *Smaiєų·a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dudusong*ʷ' varies; it becomes *Măsong*ʷ' when applied to a youth, and *Măsong*ʷ'*an·a* for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[36]

*539 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nulsătlmais*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song. [829] The chief of the house, *Siknm* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Nuya*, near *Stuix*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nulsătlmais*, and to which he gave the same name. *Siknm* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Snulle·tl* ORIGIN MYTH[37]

In the beginning of time, *Ălquntăm*, in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest man, *Ṫaiakwala*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

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[424 551] [35] As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and the adventures of *Ălkwi*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his namesake belongs to him.

[36] Fragmentary version, relator unrecorded.

[37] Related by Joshua Moody.

At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sâ·lma* had said, *Łâloxmān·a*'s three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łâloxmān·a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łâloxmān·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spâtcaldt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łâloxmān·a* by *Kapsâlopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wisamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stâltsmx*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łâloxmān·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stâltsmx*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łâloxmān·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łâloxmān·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Âtsqutl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wisamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Łilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mâtsqui* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqomkilika*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mâtsqus*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532] leaving *Nusmāt·a*, *Hamcıs* had asked *Ālquntām* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Ālquntām* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Smɪnq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nunuq̣smāls*, "Where Water Enters." 539* [776]

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamcıs* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamcıs* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; so carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Smɪnq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means of hidden strings. Whenever one of *Hamcıs*'s descendants gives a potlatch the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples. [532] [171]

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[57]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Wathus* and *Kwatlnuslsa*, to Mount *Wa·put*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuɪx*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Ālkwi*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatlnuslsa* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

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[57] Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

BB 539 a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

BC 539 *Ailsamka* told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Ḳomoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

BC BB [226] [825] The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Ḳä·paak*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Ḳomoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[76] and they floated up to the surface; of *Ḳomoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Ḳomoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Ḳä·paak* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Ḳomoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Ḳomoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *biqatl*.[77]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Ḳomoqwa* had shown her *sisaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *sisaok* initiate.

BC [177] [556] This was the[78] origin of the *sisaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *ustlmç* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Ḳomoqwa* passed to one of *Ḳä·paak*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[76] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[77] This style was always worn by *Ḳomoqwa* and *Alquntäm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Ḳomoqwa* or *Alquntäm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[78] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined 556
that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances 583
in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to
rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course,
but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every am-
bitious woman. In *Tāl·io* the custom prevails of depicting [184]
on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing [532]
a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her 556
husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of 583
their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a
quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a 578
horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, 424
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mitlakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

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[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tál·io*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

575 of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body,
766 but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other
marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been cus-
[532] tomary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

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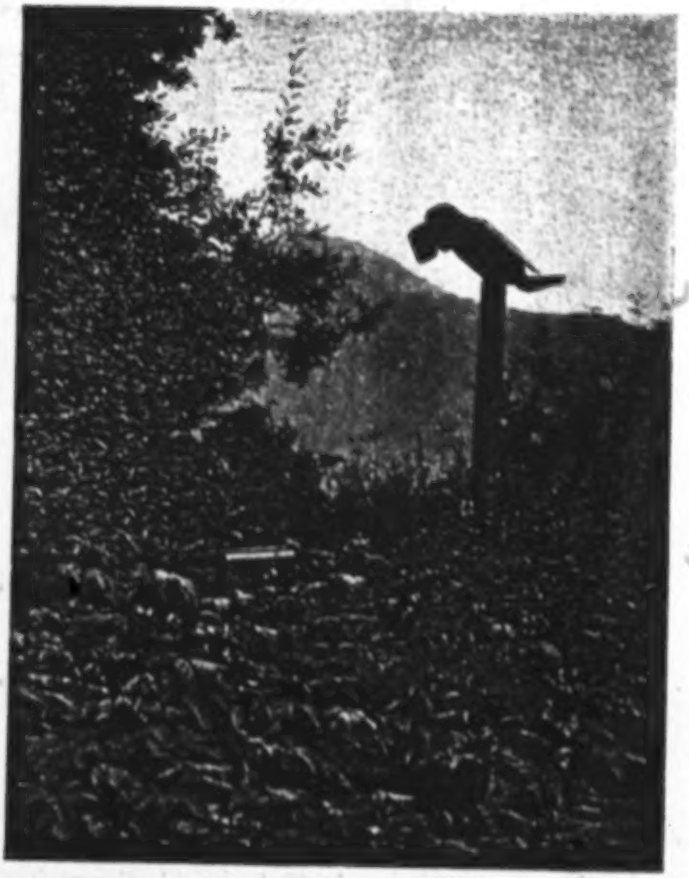
[178] [1] The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of custom.

PLATE 18

211
764
532

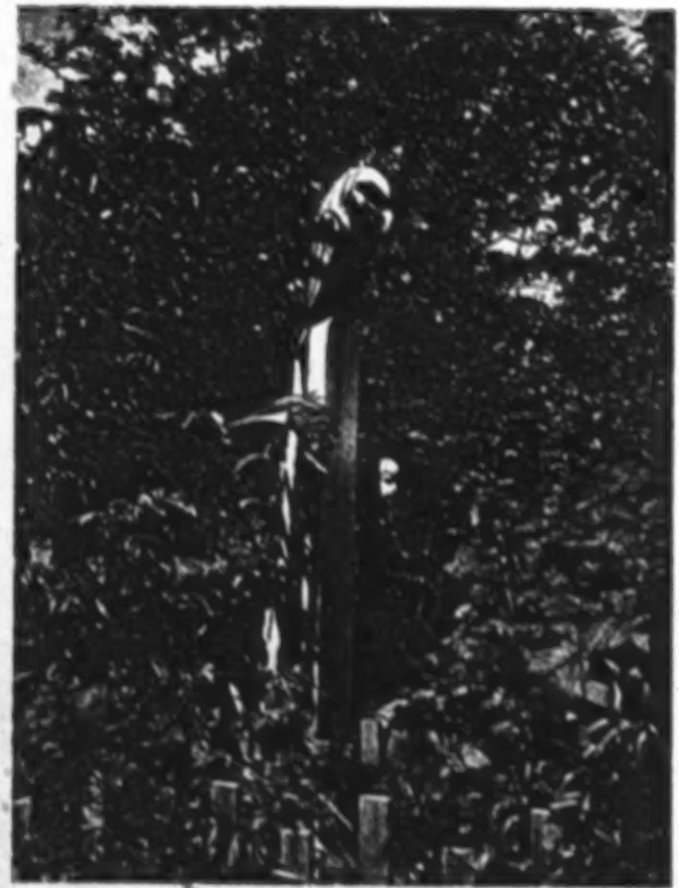


Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[P 442 (B)]

PLATE 19

211
764
532



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

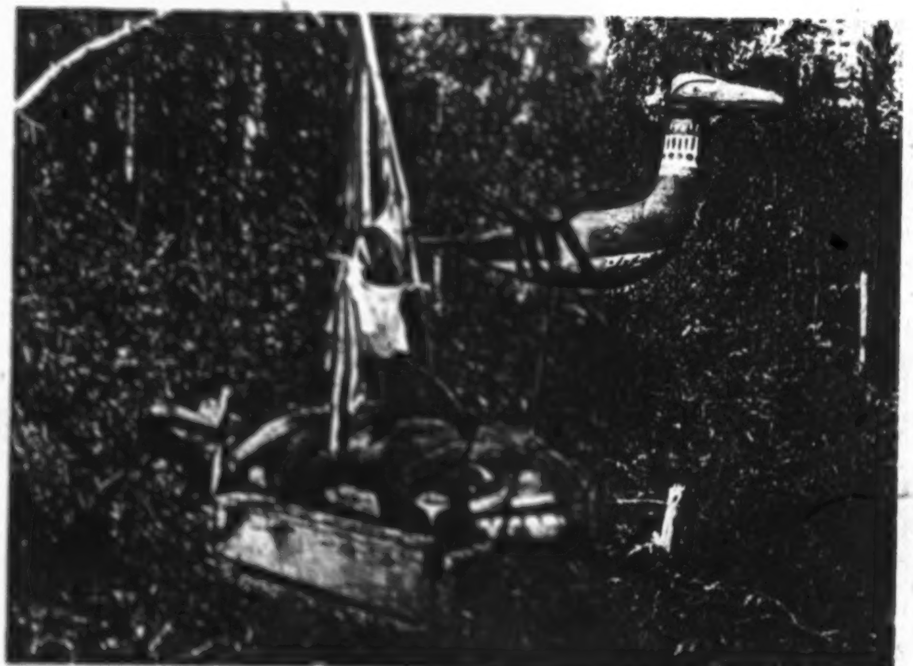
Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[p442(c)]

211
764
532

PLATE 20

[p442(b)]

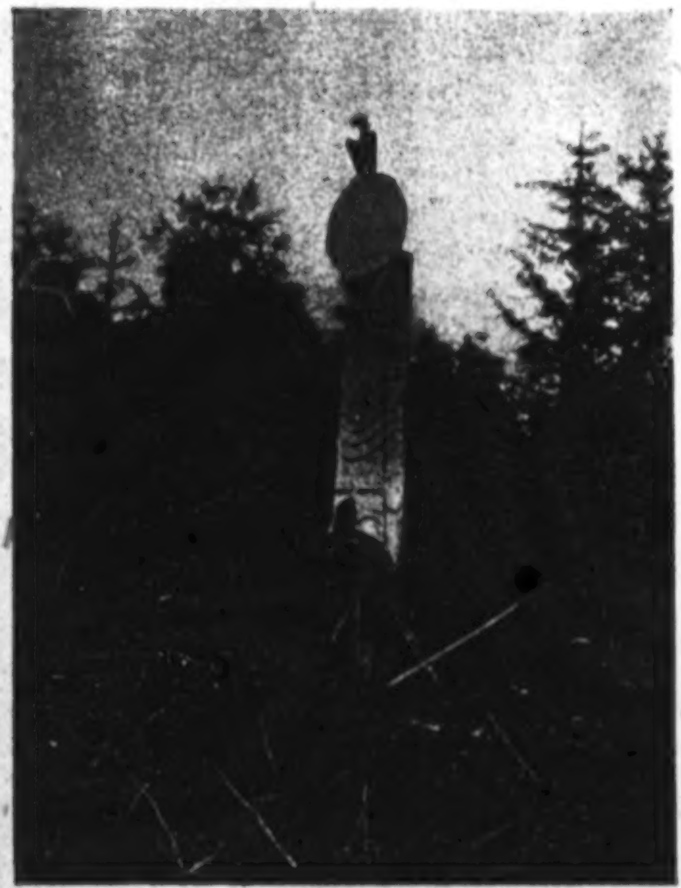


Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial figures of whale and loon

PLATE 21

211
764
532
778



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

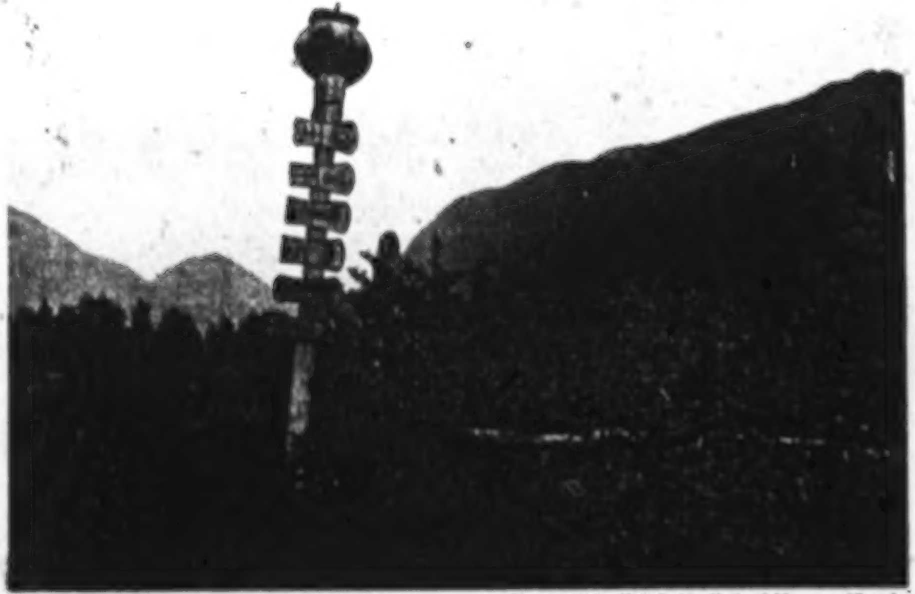
Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 142 (E)]

PLATE 22

211
714
532

[p442(F)]



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

PLATE 23

211
764
532
417

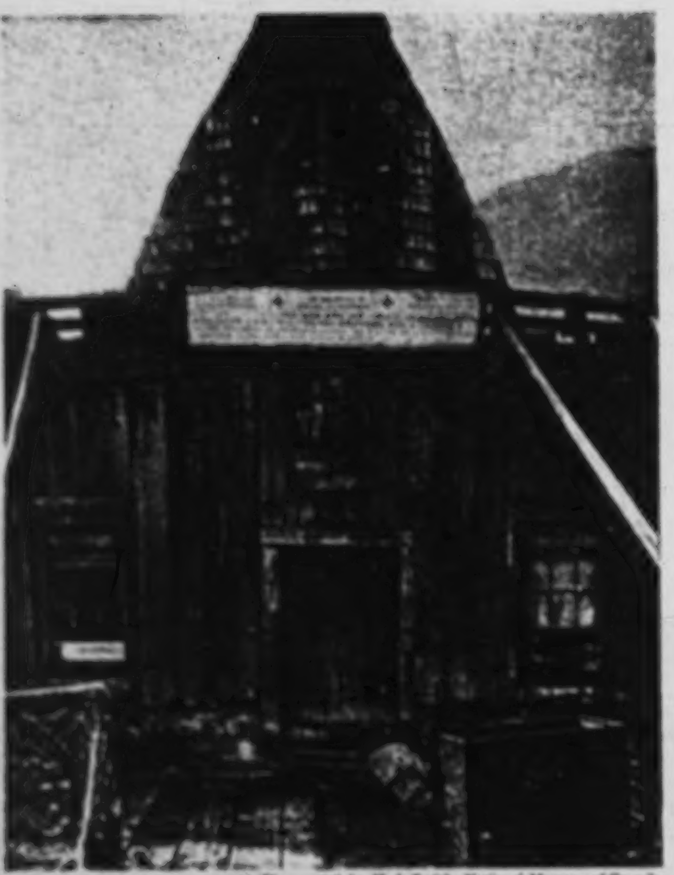
[p442(G)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial post with model canoe and figures representing slaves

PLATE 24

342
592
556
211



Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[p 442 (H)]

prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up. 556* 769 [533] [537]

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[33] carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief. 211 556* 764 769

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusqalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to [532]

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[33] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
556 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
764 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in
which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has
769 several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to
carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man,
when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again
be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself
become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this
statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with
regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of
the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all
beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial
potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's life-
time, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery
to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing
a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes
painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous
promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the
person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set
upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by
the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutək*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only
ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest,
in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations
of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave.
On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other
valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches
(see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small
poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by minia-
ture human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers 211
are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated 556 *
in this way, a father often places over his daughter's
grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her 764
husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly 769
used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down [532]
after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for
them to remain standing too long. The function of this type
of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as
judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf,
during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the [177]
Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means
for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, [212]
signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures
a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent
introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often
set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate
his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his [532]
ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions
of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements 556 *
for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the
fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his 769
house for the performance of *sisaok* dances, but this feature is [575]
often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated.
The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must
be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated
at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As
the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign [203]
guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This [609]
has been customary for many years, but during the period
when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial
potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of
the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

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[24] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

769 expression animated, and, except for his dirty European cloth-
ing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part
*556 in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he
was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large,
cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping scream of an
eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these
sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and
women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see
what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger
769 men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the
*556 masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants
continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to
535 conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer
through the narrow doorway.

These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre
of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white
[532] sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was
an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a
blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "*i* · · · · ," and continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other *susaok* fol-

men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case 789
there was a belief that *Ätquntäm* granted the wish when con- 828
vinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often
entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investi- 648
gator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For 789
example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, 828
purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used
in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed 754
after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction
had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the
object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers.
This caused indignation throughout the community and news
of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor
would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by
the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife [761]
died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its
own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of
the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have
been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the
thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would
be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was
sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too [123]
fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell cere-
monial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with 754
regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost 761
certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola 789
and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain
man either with material poison or by magical means. He 828
took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that
the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The
threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

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[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Noäkila* in the beginning of time. [532]

533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,
856 until the bird changed its note:

[539] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be
applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one
856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often
requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the
father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.
[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely
the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they
like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for
789 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good
856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one
532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy,
or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged
that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput,
and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These
[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which 304
is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. 789
Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, 856
though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. [532]

[826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles 789
and leave them in position for several months. He will grow
up lean and wiry, like the animal. 856

[825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *łłakwułk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

533
(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar 789
to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs 856
it over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. [825] He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown.

To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash 825
him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength 856
of the animal. 789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ılkas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ılkas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ılkas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence 856

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back 789
the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in posi-
tion for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain 532●
stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform

789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.

[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
[826] that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is
often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

The first night is *lsuxtälaix* or *lsuxtämem*.[5] This is when the 575*
call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by 796
whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to [104]
a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the [203] village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either [533] his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiutälsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning [104] a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation [203]* accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous [533] evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood [532] for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society [533] assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

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[5] In Kimsquit called *Älxwolätumm*.

[6] The term *qai·nugs* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

The making of the masks

*575 is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the
796 dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the
●532 actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows pre-
[437] sents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening
[465] of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämllämkım*.

The third day is *qotlım*. Those to whom mask making has
[104] been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start
their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to
which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when
most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully
swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the unini-
tiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this
*575 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built
796 behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and
where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the
four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers
take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and
Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting
enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the re-
mainder group themselves without distinction around the
[184] walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more
of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole
[533] behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may
practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the unini-
tiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *susaok* to 575*
whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and 796
the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one
of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's
rites.

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." [104]
During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, [532] ●
and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kuku-*
siut are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, [533]
and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left
to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are
called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic [532]
representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt.
Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his
song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently
another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one
dancer is likewise the *lsuxtämem* for another. The *kukusiut*
assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not al-
lowed to return to that from which they have been ejected
until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of
the season.

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although 575*
much of this will have to be described in detail for special 796
dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut*
masks and gives such an admirable description of them that 532
little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, [114]
the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter [824]
endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed.
Äno°likwolsaix is present at every dance and has become so
well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is
true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the [776]
Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so
much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much
experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The
masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the
being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
●532 avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking
differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is replaced in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
534 of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows con-
[237] sisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath
the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the
summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
[422] these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any
kusiut can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled
carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[426] anyone for use in a ceremony.

In some dances special objects are used in connection with
*575 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
796 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
532 old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl·io*, which had
a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[534] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole.
[824] Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his
patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
609 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
796 of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

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[1] [see category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget
533 either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to
practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

● 532 *Tłṗänap, łłṗänap, kukusiaot,* "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."

The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to
*[203] gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[22] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

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[176] [22] This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* 575*
repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and 796
birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. When- 532 ●
ever a tree falls, one of the party calls out: [784]

Xwu···. [313]

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the
virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into [789]
sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is
contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made
for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a
burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The [482]
wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult
to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning
the *kukusiut* with a call of: [203]*

Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ăno·likwolsaix* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noăkxnm*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet
him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to [431]
the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends [465]
upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is [203]*
with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noăkxnm*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the
heralds call out: [203]*

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the [789]
wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*···.

575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
796 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ····. Any *kusiut* can make
a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has
shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour
to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but
a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives
greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive
piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type.
This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss
of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in
Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves
experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers
796 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion
[533] among informants. In any case the re-singing on *wusiutâlsap*
is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of
songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other
dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish
to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in
[431] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the
[424] food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought
of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must
sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his
platform-enclosure.

575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qotlm*.
796 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been
532 assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with
[203] which masks are completed is surprising, although this has
undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[177] In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are
[562] invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the 575*
craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house 796*
is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made 532
ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is [562]
a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola
and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully con- 575*
cealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are 796*
suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly 184
difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does 532
not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation
appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how
they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of
the power of the *kukusiut*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members
of the society emphasize the fact that the dances are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above
are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that
they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola
remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before
his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own
houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would
come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry
haip if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it
would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible
explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given
at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to
point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and
concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon 575*
the *kukusiut*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony 796*
by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done.
The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the [203]*
interminable delays of every *kusiut* dance most provoking. At [302]
last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire,
while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invi-
tation which they know will soon be given. One of the mar- [203]*

The next day is *nabusam*,[33] the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day *kukusiut* come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *kusiut* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted; X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *kusiut* who is to represent *Ȧnoˀlikwolsaix* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one marshal can dictate who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with endless discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon at latest, painted, and concealed behind a matting enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all chips are swept up and burnt and the house made tidy for the evening. 575* 796* 532 ● [203]*

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders; their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the *kukusiut* wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of 575* 796* [203]* has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to 575* whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on 796* representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know, that is enough for them.

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[33] If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before *nabusam*. Every evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise the songs. [533]

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model 575* of *Noäkẕnm*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. 796* Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ānoʻlikwolsaix* 532 ● ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals 776 sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ānoʻlikwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[19]

"See!" she says, "There is *Noäkẕnm*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakänmem*, and the other as *Ālālkmktnm*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is [781] the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[20] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *sleli* (II, p. 382). If this has been done, *Ānoʻlikwolsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Noäkẕnm*'s canoe.

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[19] There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (*op. cit.*), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[20] As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

*575 *796 ●532 533 Among the passengers in *Noâkxnm*'s canoe are a number of singers, who replace the usual ones on this *nebusam*. Each wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and with white feathers projecting from the top. After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Snalexwnimutik*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Noâkxnm*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nunanaisikdimut Noâkxnm*, the dancer of *Noâkxnm*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to
575 796 [535] dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ána'likwalsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nunanairikdimut*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Noâkxnm* and guards his singers. At this point *Ána'likwalsaix*'s own song may or
[533] may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their
[535] sticks, and *Ána'likwalsaix* herself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be ex-

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[126]

Chicken feathers are now used.

One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

-pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 796*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, sunwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came. [789]

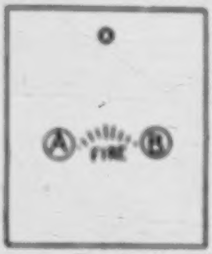

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time [532] ● until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say [171] that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different, [184]

[The Dance of Wila]

575*
796*

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. [532] They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[32] On the morning of the fourth day,[33] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. [302] A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[34] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. [535] Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. [789] He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. [787] In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

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[32] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[33] It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nuxlqmun*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[34] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives. [184] [424]

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the
*796 admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lsuxtämem*.

[532] The next day, *qotlm*, the carpenters work at the masks,
some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the
*[302] evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves
[575] by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide
pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the
uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks
[184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by
cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches
from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam
behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not
guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had
to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others.
It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite
[688] out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any
offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for
*[203] holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds
[537] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of
the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds
appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this
occasion X and the dancer of *Noäkgnm* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according
to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many
kukusiut have performed, the rite may continue almost till
dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses
them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

*575
532
776

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith,
National Museum of Canada

Mask representing *Ăno°likwoiʂaix*

[p. 84 (A)]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit
556 this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is
possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that
on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an
abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded
in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been
concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and
biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from
his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the super-
natural being, usually *Älquntäm*, X's mental powers are un-
impaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only
a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers
[533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the bene-
ficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise
and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night,
owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Can-
nibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed
and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for
[532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol-
[776] lowing supernatural beings:

Älquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Älqotleos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Ällipaios*, "Holders," who restrain *Älqotleos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Äno°likwolsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 *796 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated [424] are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long [824] period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a [535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently ●[532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 7),[1] symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 *796 567 648 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[illegible] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

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[illegible] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[1] [see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

[The Scratch Dance]

The ritual of the following day, *nusiutälsap*, is of the regular 575*
kusiut type, so requires only a brief description. A second 796*
song is composed, wood for seven masks collected, and the platform is built. As soon as X has returned with the wood-gatherers, he again visits every house, frightening the uninitiated by his wild appearance as he circles the fire, but without scratching anyone. In the evening the *kukusiut* meet in his house to share in the allotment of work for the mask-making [532]
and to practise the songs. The following masks are made:

Älquntäm;
Sno'olxults Älquntäm, displayed as an ugly-mouthed monster;
Four Holders, similar to those who restrain a Cannibal;
Äno°likwolsaix.

After the usual meal the gathering breaks up.

On the next day, *qotlum*, X is still so frenzied that at intervals he visits the various houses with his escort and frightens the uninitiated. After some time these visits cease, though the uninitiated do not know that X has been pacified by seeing the completed mask of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*. The *kusiut* to whom the manufacture of this has been entrusted hurries his work in order that X may be quieted as soon as possible. In the evening the usual *qotlum* rites take place, the *kukusiut* being often invited before the uninitiated to practise the many songs composed for different dancers; this is done especially near the conclusion of the dances. When the regular ceremonial commences, X is the first to dance, restrained by two couples of *kukusiut*, as if to prevent him from running amuck among the uninitiated. Afterwards the singers strike up the songs of the *kukusiut* who have already performed, and each dances. Sometimes, if the rite becomes too protracted, only one song for each is used. Then the uninitiated are sent away and the *kukusiut* eat together, followed by X dancing to one of his songs. Occasionally, two or three *kukusiut* are also called upon as part of the ceremony.

[The Scratch Dance]

+575 +796 On the following evening, *nebusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Älquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Äno°likwolsaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Äno°likwolsaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, [826] the seat of the spirit, calling *hoip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. [532] The masks are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Some- [834] times X himself wears the mask of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, more often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 796*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is
usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts [787]
more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is
well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never
throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must
indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *łsuxtämem*,
the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 575*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a 796*
novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which 533
originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and
the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänolłx̣ımulełts*
Ȧlquntäm as patron; some have *Snukilmäls*, a supernatural
being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The
chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words,
'aii, 'aii. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers
of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished
from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 796*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [431]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [424]
exhibit their right.

Next morning, *nusiutälsap*, X again becomes frenzied and
rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course
this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that
arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects
to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
kukusiut are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 796*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac-
tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is 532●
of *Sänolłx̣ımulełts Ȧlquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land 424
above,[a] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the 776
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ȧno°likwo*tsaix.

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[a] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Stomach- Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile 575*
forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany 796*
him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village 787
furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out:

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about
to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the [781]
call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments.

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon 575*
all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *łsuxtämem* 796*
takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed
by one of their members for X, the audience listens 533
attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiyɛ'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast.

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed 575*
and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for 796*
masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[44] and the 532●
songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a [533]

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[44] Some is kept for a later distribution.

*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *änuyex*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
●532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
not, and include not only beings having human form, but
[787] snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his
being, an *änuyex* receives strength which can be transmitted
to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
[775] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, reinforced
[787] by those passed into him by other members of the
society through the transference of their puppets. The most
potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many
of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat
rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving
before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again
be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in
the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very
great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden
strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic
effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners
and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed
one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is
not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame
is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of
a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even
the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his
breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears
a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the
artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The
chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion
in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

*575 *796 [217] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[44] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the backroom, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qotlm* was curtailed, and informants could give only [533] an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qotlm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

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● [532] [44] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the 575*
lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 796*

Saqankotsänitwawit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*skäpälpälqälosdus* 533
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmän·a*	to revive 539
diyäläkaiqum·ilsutdai		
the one who has so injured himself.		

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there
are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the
wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575*
then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the
puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 796*
region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of 787
others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for
the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice,
is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its
invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated
over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless.
Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at
him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing,
an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At
intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land
above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the
owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what
the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes
and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the [533]
women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once,
standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound
with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575*
long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796*
heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece;
each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [776]
nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmän·a*.
In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the [184]
entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden
figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is [532]

*575 made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The
*796 wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows
[532] ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are
moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth,
middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is
often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes
in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands
*796 as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins
533 to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmān·a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose
kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has
actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to
X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is
assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the
intervention of *Snitsmān·a*. The singers pretend to be listening
intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it,
while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those
who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the
*575 music. One after the other the *ānuyax* who had cast their
patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over
*796 him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped
787 hands, at the same time crying out *hoip, hoip*.

Each *ānuyax* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves
to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had
*575 come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon
follow, without receiving a meal.[10] Those who have taken a
*796 leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

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[10] According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *änuyex*
*796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the
affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs
is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his
ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after
the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

*575 The next day, *qotləm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
*796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in
the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his
● choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night
[533] which would normally be *qotləm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather
and again practise their songs.

*575 But the day after is *qotləm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
*796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying
themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances
in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her
breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *änuyex* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two 575*
kukusiut, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more 796*
than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have
danced; then the uninitiated are given a little[illegible]od and sent [574]
away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and lis[illegible] to the ad-
monitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the 575*
occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent 796*
than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical 537
address:

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long 575*
after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *nuhusam*. 796*
Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock
in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumer- 532●
able details. A representation of *Äno'likwolsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Älquntäm*, *Sexsexfâlaix*, and *Snuulkâls*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom
Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides [776]
points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means

*575 of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and
*796 forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many
532 other supernatural beings and animals have been made, including two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The first of these is X's patron, *Kulslkäkmidjut*, who is capable of having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted
[776] on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of *Oqolikts Älquntäm*, the herald of *Älquntäm*. Above his mask is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings. By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

*575 *796 [755] The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accompanies a curing ceremony. Then *Oqolikts* leaves X's house, followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village where *Oqolikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwe · · · .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oqolikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oqolikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

* 575 * 746 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

776 *Anumontsknum.* Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Älquntäm* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snumq. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukusiut* women drone. Several [789] masked figures accompany the *Snumq* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Änu'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snumq* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haohao. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually ● [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 8).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukusiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Änu'likwolsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haohao* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukusiut.* The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Älwnläknum. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [532] der, the leading *kusiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (B) - ANALYST]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he 575*
beats on the floor as he cries out: 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of 776
all [Thunder] is about to dance." 532

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[$] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so 575*
that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his ap- 796*
parent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and 776
down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched teeth, while *Ȧnoˀlikwotsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, 535
and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ȧnoˀlikwotsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

Sxnxnudax. Twelve of these beings appear together, dis- 575*
guised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 796*

[$] [see category 116, p 164 (c) - ANALYST] 776
[532]

*575 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the *796 land above who play together outside *Nusmāt-a* and refuse to 776 allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[532] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Sŋŋnesáks.*

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sxaiaxwax* bursts forth from the other and at once the *Sŋŋnesáks* flurry from sight, shepherded by the Hermaphrodite. [532] *Sxaiaxwax* wears a mask representing an ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

*575 *796 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two *nuluxam.* In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *kukusiut* burn the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the *qatlm* of every *kusiut* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on *qatlm* nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575
In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796
one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575
had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796
Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 688
the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177
with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575
a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796
Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit [924]
man named *Onirwalirus*. He carried out the rite a few years after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onirwalirus* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onirwalirus* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [592]
best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

[The Beheading Dance]

575 796 592

tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Oniswaltcwa* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.* At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

465 431 535

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*Several details that apply to all *kusiotem* are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Stomach-Cutting dance.

to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *kusiotem* facts, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck. 575* 796* 532 [533]

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise. [533]

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *gatlem*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kusiut* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately tears through it to separate the head from the body.[77] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

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[77] The old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes away untangled. [284]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Beheading Dance]

* 575 † 796 [532] floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The *kukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *kukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *kukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nusiutälsap*, a number of *kukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *ânayax*. The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Älquntäm* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Sothm passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *kukusiut* assemble early for *nuhusam*. When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[illegible] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *kukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

[184]

[illegible] In Kimsquit only.

[The Fungus Dance]

* 575 at *O·qwi·*, near that village, where it has remained ever since.
*796 It will be convenient to term *Snunikka·kus* X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the marshals of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of *nebusam* for some other *kusiut*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and peering around as if dazed. *Kukusiut* accomplices sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women drone monotonously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and
[787] again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon him. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. The *kukusiut* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *luxtämem* is identical with that already described in the earlier *kusiut* dances.

* 575
*796
•532 On the day following, *nusiutälsap*, there is not the customary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *kusiut* officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a fungus which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular shelf variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a face, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The fungus, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the fungus hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [see category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

nusiutälsap and has part of that day as well as all of *qotlım* and 575*
nebusam to complete his task. On the evening of *nusiutälsap*, 796*
the *kukusiut* are summoned as usual to practise X's two songs.
The ritual on this night as well as on the following, *qotlım*, [532]
appears to be of the usual *kusiut* type although one informant [178]
stated that complete silence reigns in order to spread the
fiction among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that X is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional usage.

On the night of *nebusam* a herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house with the cry:

> *Tcäläts dənai nexınkomi dəkusiutai* [539]
> Come to the little *kusiut* dance.

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major import. They enter, and are at once given a small meal.[81] Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are seated, X appears from the back-room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind it out of sight. The *kukusiut* begin to beat time furiously as X slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the planks. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord lying on the surface. Any four *kukusiut* men are called forward to support X and stand, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. X whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

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[81] This may be also a modern innovation. [178]

575*
796*
532●
292

PLATE 7

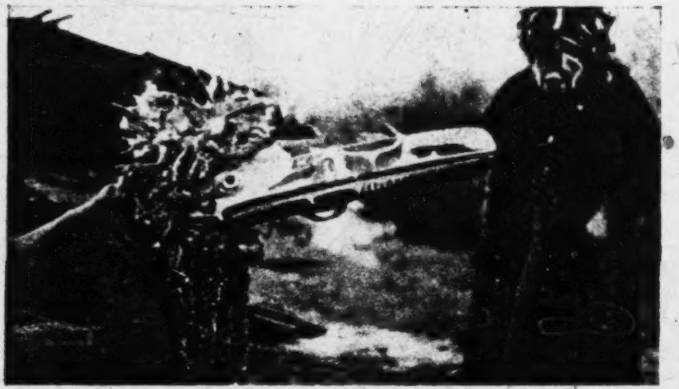
Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a [illegible]ibal

[p. 164 (A)]

*575
*796
●532
776

PLATE 8



Photograph by the author

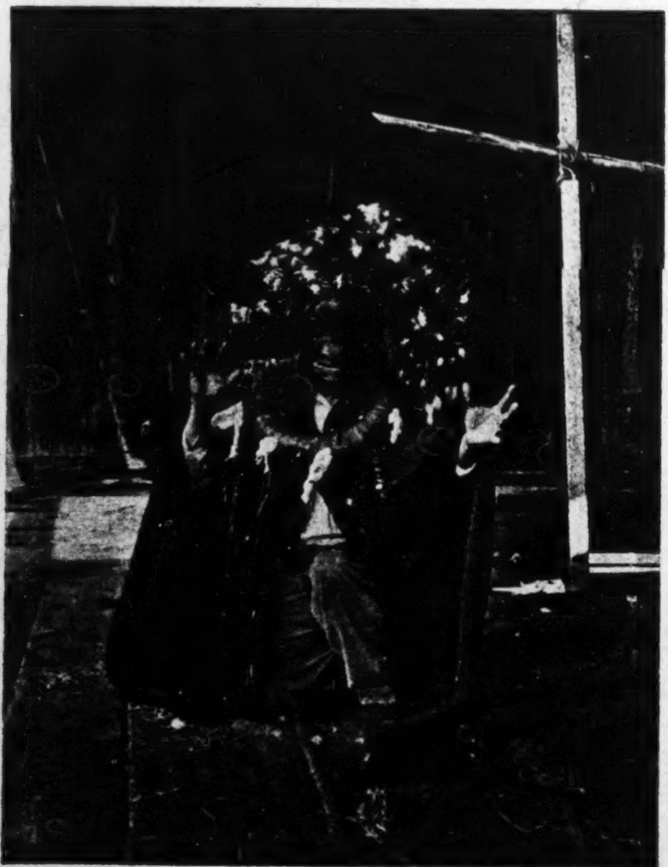
Masked figure representing a *haohao*

[p. 164 (B)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575*
796*
776
532●
292

PLATE 9



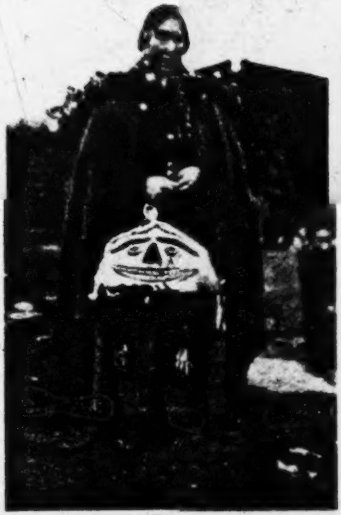
Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

* 575
* 796
● 532
142

PLATE 10



Photograph by the author

Dancer carrying the fungus

[p. 164 (D)]

PLATE 11

575*
796*
776
532

Photograph by the author

Thunder carrying the fire-rattle

[p. 164 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575
*796
532

PLATE 12

Photograph by H. I. Smith. *National Museum of Canada*

The slave woman with the child on her back

[p. 164(F)]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared
*796 the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house.
[424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering
their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn
from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what
governed, in the old days, the choice between these two
performances.

*575 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut*
rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to
*796 decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the
178 winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snınukkaᵉkus*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the
proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance
was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But
even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear
that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission
of masked figures on *nebusam*.

*575 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the
fact that *Snınukkaᵉkus* has also the prerogative of dancing at
*796 an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this
821 fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of
[424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Alquntäm:* under the name of *Sınxälotla.*

[776] The Moon.

Smaien·a: This was introduced on account of being the
[532] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A
mask representing this place of petrified power is always
painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is
decorated in the same way.

The *Snınq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Stilim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing 575*
the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly 796*
being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald [184]
presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In
Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point
onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two
localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness,
of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X [533]
dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs
previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time
he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the
rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual
remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point
on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion,
when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *łsuxtämem*.
The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner
already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the
youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father,
but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that
the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the
problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known
the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had
many times guessed and failed.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* 575*
assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds 796*
to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries 532●
of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X
to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery [424]
dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural
beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood
must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment
of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father,
or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all
his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is
not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ăno°likwolsaix* must
be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

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*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little atten-
*796 tion is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their ini-
532 tiative to a considerable extent.[illegible] One mask always made is
that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for
Älquntäm. As far as could be learnt, if *Älquntäm* wishes to
conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-
places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the
task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings,
X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he
may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and
then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to
anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made
[556] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be
constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes
in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a
large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and
qotlım is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening
the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though
[184] fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not
in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the
fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the follow-
ing evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of
*575 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long
*796 before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another;
he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third
tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the
preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many
as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After
he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

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[178] [illegible] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need 575*
be said concerning the ritual of *qotlm* which follows the pattern 796*
already described.

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is [285]
raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Ăno°likwolsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very power-
ful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked 575*
figures used when *Q̧oxolän·i* last performed the dance; it must 796*
again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the
wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which 532●
they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the 776
typical *nebusam* of a Mystery dancer.

The first to appear are *Snuslaxwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Ăno°likwolsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the three stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Sänollx̣umulelts Älquntäm*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

575 air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times
796 hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from
532 falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops
776 to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Ano'likwotsaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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[532]

representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *kukusiut* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

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The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqulxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

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575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
796 are impressed as *Äno'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

582 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*……,
776 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snumq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Älquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Älquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Snö'olxults Älquntäm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Äno°likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqulxwaista*, and have listened to it howling for *Älquntäm*; as usual, *Äno°likwolsaix* confirms his

[The Mystery Dance]

statements. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied 575*
Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea 796*
who or what they are, while their whole training, combined 532●
with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is sur- 776
rounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing
supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person [781]
should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the
marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kusiut*.

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ăno'likwolsaix* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the droning invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Q̣oxolän·i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remem- [178]
bered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters.

To the accompaniment of *O*······ from the announcer and the droning of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ăno'likwolsaix* explains that these are *Masmasälänux*, the Carpenters of *Nusqulxwaista*.

Now *Oq̣olikts Ălquntäm* comes forth. He is the herald of *Ălquntäm* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nusqulxwaista* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

*575 of which is a similar bird that disappears within the rod by the
*796 pulling of a cord. This being is patron of other *kukusiut*, but
this does not debar X from displaying him at his ceremonial.
●532 *Oqolikts Ālquntām* goes around the fire, moving his head in a
776 jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *Āno'likwolsaix* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *Ālquntām*.

Then the matting is drawn aside to expose the figures of *Xemxemālotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkiḷkka*, *Aimālotla*, *Aiamkilka*, *Q̈omcua*, *Q̈ulaxwoa*, *Kwlilias*, *Ālmāk*°, and *Tlitcāplilān-a*, each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *Xemxemālotla* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tone, all the figures turn around sunwise, shouting as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the matting is restored to place. During this, *Kwlilias* and *Ālmāk*° do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain presents from them, while *Ālmāk*°, the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *Āno'likwolsaix* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *Ālxwolātnum*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He beats violently on the floor with his rod and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once *Tlopots* either rushes forth or sticks his head over the matting and bellows forth:

"No! No! Don't come."

After *Ālxwolātnum* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

Tlapsts follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all: 575* 746*

"No. No. Don't come."

When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to contradict the herald's invitation. *Anu'likwalsix* explains that *Ilwmiltsaui* is herald to the mighty Thunder, while *Tlapsts* is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. She adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear. 592● 776

As evidence of Thunder's near approach there next emerges Rainwater, a masked figure who dances silently around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. *Anu'likwalsix* hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the announcer cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading *kusiut* of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the uninitiated."

The women drum and the *kukusiut* beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the matting is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, standing on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with more bark. Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains silent, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are rattling heavy stones in boxes to imitate the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to concentrate in himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the 575* 746* 776

575 796 776 [532] fire, while the women drum out an accompaniment. The mask has only one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other *kukusiut*, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really deferential attendants.[illegible] When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he stops, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power from the smoke; then reascends the box behind the matting from which he first jumped. One of the *kukusiut* thrusts into his hand a perforated rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11),§ Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and two assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the drumming of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof stamps and clatters on the boards, another pounds on loose planking with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling out in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power from the fire before retiring behind the matting, which is then drawn. The announcer cries out:

"The fire *kusiut* of the supernatural ones has been with us; his fire is too wonderful for us."

[532] He departs and there appears a masked figure of *[illegible]*. This being dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *[illegible]* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. She adds that

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[illegible] Similar guide-attendants often accompany other supernatural beings.

§ [See category 776, p 164(E) Analyst]

Sipalxndw is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, 575*
hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 746*

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and 776
carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if
he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges [532]
these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Niofo*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ānu'likwalsis* explains that *Niofo* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion.

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second [532]
appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and constricts the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transferred his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the matting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the rattle containing smouldering bark, and once more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the matting is pulled into place. *Sipalxndw* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ānu'likwalsis* does not

575 speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been
776 given.

776 After a short pause the announcer calls impressively:

"Take care! The *haohao* are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a *haohao* backs out. The mask, about [532] three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another *haohao* likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hao, hao, hao*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from them in case they should become ferocious, but in reality to [532] direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the gyrating performer in which direction to move. When the *haohao* have disappeared, *Änu'likwutsaix* explains who the visitors were.

[532] Next appears a Snail. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Änu'likwutsaix* explains that this is a Snail from *Nuspalwaitx* which has come to visit X.

[532] Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Snail he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Änu'likwutsaix* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor has retired from sight. *Āno°likwolsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt. 575* 796* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nebusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further dramas, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nebusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Āno°likwolsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance. [532]

THE DANCE OF *Winwina*

[illegible] is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *Winwina*[44] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influenced the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *Winwina* is supposed to return from the 575* 796* 776 825 184 824

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[44] Also called *[illegible]*, "What Brings Our Food."

[The Dance of WinWina]

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Winwina* is 575* making so much noise." 796*

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *kukusiut* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *kusiut* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Winwina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,[88] as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *kukusiut* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike [533] out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Winwina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kämälälkl*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed amid admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *lnxtämem*.

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then 575* a number of *kukusiut* go with him to the forest to bring in the 796* wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry 532 tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different

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[88] Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *796 .532 kinds of salmon captured by *Winwina*. In their efforts to make realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter, stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Hermaphrodite. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other *nusiutälsap*, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of *qotlım*, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening booth *kukusiut* and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of *qotlım* night.

*575 *796 825 *Nebusam* follows the next day. The wooden salmon and berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in the evening X asks some one of the senior *kukusiut* to assist him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the dancer's choice. The *kukusiut* are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and marvel at the canoe behind the fire. The *kusiut* chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head upstream.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but fear of the *kukusiut* acts as a deterrent, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it to

[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food is then given to all and the people disperse. 575* 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nebusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* type. [424] The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance.

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Winwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kämälälkl* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *lnuxtämem*.

The next day is *nusiutälsap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five [532] only are required; one of *Ăno°likwolsaix* and four of *Kämälälkl*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qotlum*.

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nebusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kämälälkl* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

[the Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No de- 575*
scription need be given of the coming of the call and of the 796*
ritual of *lsuxtämem*. A large amount of wood is required, and 824
on the night of *nusiutälsap* the many carpentry tasks are al-
lotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent [532]
Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who
attend her, and one of the inevitable *Ǻno°likwolsaix*. Besides,
masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees,
their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the
carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred
masks were sometimes ordered.

No detailed description is required for *qotlim*, but the ritual
on *nebusam* differs from that of all other dances. Early in the
morning a number of *kukusuit* gather in X's house where the
carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks repre- [532]
senting hags of great age and ugliness. A number of *kukusiut*
accompany them to the bottom house of the village where
they call out:

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not give them to us for her?"

The *kukusiut* drone when they see and hear these supernatural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in
and take their places in the two corners near the door. They
see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure [532]
wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with
enormously distended stomach. She is *Nunuoska*, Mother-
Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She
lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old [844]
women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as
if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant.
Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each
of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per-

*575 formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ăno°likwolsaix*
*796 stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now
comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born
824 of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick repre-
[532 senting the leaves of the willow. The nurses handle the per-
844] former, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ăno°likwolsaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ăno°likwolsaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the encosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ăno°likwolsaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

*575 This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the
*796 mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nunuoska* like a
824 doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face
532 appears like that of a happy womanwho has just given birth.
The uninitiated do not realize that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lowerside of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to accom-

plish his design of destroying Mother-Nature in the act of 575*
delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side 796*
of the house, not far from Black Cottonwood. The advent of
the South Wind has helped Mother-Nature, so in close suc- 824
cession there follow masked figures, representing the plants, 532
trees, and shrubs known to the Bella Coola. Those first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind, have been early ones in the order of their showing signs of green; afterwards there is no fixed sequence, except to follow as closely as possible that of their appearance in the spring. When Black Hawthorn is being born there is great difficulty; he kicks, squirms, and cries, requiring the assistance of both attendants and the South Wind. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of the trouble becomes plain; it is because the fruit is bitter and causes griping in the stomach. The performance is a lengthy one; the same masks appear repeatedly, but the painted stick representing the flower or leaves is changed. Through the long period of their birth, the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind trying at intervals to reach Mother-Nature, but always repulsed by the watchful South Wind. To the uninitiated it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, that so many beings can be hidden in so small an enclosure; in reality, no more than fifteen actors are used, they simply change their masks and reappear. The last masked figure represents After-birth, a moss which does not appear until late in the season after all the other plants have come to life. Instead of going around the fire, this figure hides quickly by lying down out of sight.

The uninitiated are sometimes sent away at this point, at 575*
other times they are allowed to wait to hear the meaning of
the whole ceremonial. X asks an able *kusiut* to act as orator. 796*
This man explains that we would have no food if the South [824]
Wind had not been able to drive away the North Wind before
he hurt Mother-Nature as she gave birth to the plants, which form so important a part of the food supply. If not already expelled, the uninitiated are sent out at this point and the

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 796*

During the evening of the next day, *nusiutälsap*, the usual carpentry tasks are allotted. Only three masks are required, [532] one of *Äno°likwolsaix* and two of supernatural beings termed *Mutletsta*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *qotlm* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *nebusam* the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *Äno°likwolsaix*, [532] but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party retires to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mutletsta* dance around the fire while *Äno°likwolsaix* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kukusiut* soon ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner.

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining [424] his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mutletsta*.

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in 575* the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* 796* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful 424 and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them 776 is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his patron, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence

[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered 575*
when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 796*

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first called in, to be fol- 776
lowed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in
the manner already described, though, if possible, with even
more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the
performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance,
he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle
containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit
of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audi-
ence, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic
skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic [522]
realism is added by the reiterated remarks of *T̓łoqots* who does
his utmost to belittle Thunder.

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *Nixp̓s*, appears after
Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he
wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come [532]
from the land below in answer to the call of *Ălxwolätunum*. As
he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill [533]
of *Nixp̓s* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling
mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated
look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance,
but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws,
followed by the musician.

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the super-
natural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of
those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder
dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions.
Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile [532]
manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit
likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ăno°lik-
wolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to [825]
taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to
approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The
masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one
foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied
*796 beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.
[787] During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad
at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house
and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always
with him, and the procedure is identical with that already
[424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted,
so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an
unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him
from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members
*796 of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature,
776 and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of
[522] the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdlt*,
[831] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed
Aliq̣män·i and *Nuuxkmälsaix*. She is thought to disregard the
efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes
to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human
beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young
[557] man, *Łālaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwạlākmus*;
[562] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or
women. It is said that *Łālaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from
[424] the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of
Kwalākmus was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer
[533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing
not only of *Sximsximdlt*, but also of the being known as *Winwintımak*.
[532] Many masks are required at the *nebusam* of either
of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect
to *Sximsximdlt* one year, and to *Winwintımak* at the next or a
subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always
refer to both patrons.

*796 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains
*575 their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

the *qotlᴜm* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him 575* in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village 796* announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Sximsximᴜlt*; how she came down from above [533] and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her [776] without success; how she went to the house of *Q̇eil* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Winwintᴜmak* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Winwintᴜmak* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.[53] No detailed description is required for the ritual of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *qotlᴜm*, since these follow the typical *kusiut* pattern.

During the afternoon of *nebusam*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a fluent man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Anoᵒlikwolsaix*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Sximsximᴜlt*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's home and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated hasten into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Sximsximᴜlt* enters and slowly [532]• proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers,

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[53] Definite information concerning the identification of *Winwintᴜmak* could not be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

*575 each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing
*796 and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida,
[532] Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert,
Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished,
not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion
representations of a white man and of a Chinese were used.
Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each
figure pretends to be pursuing *Sximsximdt* and keeps up a
running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am," says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women. *Ăno°likwotsaix* explains everything, and the heralds echo the remarks. *Sximsximdt* looks around for a handsome young *kusiut* woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to
[522] be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively
funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more
[831] than the tale of *Sximsximdt*'s lovers. This is a time when
obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short
distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have
[532] loved *Sximsximdt* and are still allured by her, comes a super-
natural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is
her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her
to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him.
*575 Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old
man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning
*796 heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him.
522 She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers
feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals.
Ăno°likwotsaix explains that he is *Simptcus*, who fell under the
spell of *Sximsximdt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her
beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme 575*
is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat·iwal·a*, "The Big 796*
One." It describes how he came from above and went far and [533]
near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each
victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in [776]
all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he
exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells.

On *nusiutälsap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest,
they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of [532]
a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two
succeeding days. On *nebusam* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural
Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men,
of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat·iwal·a* leads the procession
and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsximdt*
to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd [831]
remarks, of which *Kwat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he [522]
calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks
them how many mistresses each has had.

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the [532]
carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat·iwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Ăno°likwoisaix* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner.

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, [424]
since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once,

*575
*796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.
[424]

THE SUN DANCE[illegible]

[776]
[821] One of the forms in which *Ălquntăm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sunxălotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare
[124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[illegible] were themselves protégés of *Ălquntăm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

[424]
[551] Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Ălquntăm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ălquntăm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolän·i* of *Tcimotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

[533]
[776] Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Ălquntăm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Ălquntăm* himself, one of
●[532]
[171]

[illegible] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[illegible] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

Āno°likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition 575* a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a 796* human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Ālquntäm*. [532] No detailed description is required until the night of *nebusam*.

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Ālquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Ālquntäm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two [522] Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Āno°likwolsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, [821] slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Āno°likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Ālquntäm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual.

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is [424] required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Nuskgnum*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the

[The Moon Dance]

*575 No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on
*796 either *nusiutälsap* or *qotlim*. On the evening of the former day
821 the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be
confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for
● [532] each *Snitsmän-a*, and one for *Äno°likwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house
to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been
[532] spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän-a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Äno°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Äno°likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Äno°likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän-a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

*575

THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

*796 One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was
539 *Älismotasaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his
424 associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *sisauk*

778

551

575*
names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, 796*
he decided to initiate a *kusiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time 539
chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and 424
Ālimmatusaix resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give 778
strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her 551
small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known
to the Bella Coola as *Taxakl*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all
other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Ālimmatusaix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *kalolo*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Ānukululslaix*. The *kukusiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Ālimmatusaix* chose the name *Qepātus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to 575*
Qepātus as X. 796*

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Ānukululslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuix*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Ānukululslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old,
old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle
made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with [532]
a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).[§] She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukusiut*

[§] [See category 116, p 164 (F) - ANALYST]

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

575 796 woman dress, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *kusiotem* and requires no special description. On the night of *[illegible]* a large number of [532] masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of [illegible].

In the early evening the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to [532] [178] inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kusiut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently [714] witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their [825] branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Anu'likwutsaix* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by *Kalqmas-t*, a relative of *Simaqual*, and has since been the pre- 575 * 796 *
rogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient 424
to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at [551]
Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself
where the *kusiut* society is believed to lack both localized [778]
power and ancestral authority.* The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; as far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *sisauk* and *kusiut* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during 575 *
the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a 796 *
suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are re- [532]
quested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kukusiut* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. From a distance non-initiates can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kukusiut* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the shouting of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other
kukusiut, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been [532]
fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, stops, and all the *kukusiut* call out *ī*.... This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by pulling the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

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*This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

[The Octopus Dance]

* 575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
* 776 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *kusiut* dance. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on [illegible] and [illegible].

On the evening of [illegible] the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown
[532] would not be known, but among them is always an octopus. The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[554] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

* 575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
* 776 that performed by a certain *Kilipem*, whom it will be conven-
824 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman [illegible],
[776] Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valley, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord. It is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice or earlier. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[illegible] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
* 575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
* 776 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

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[illegible] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

975*
976*
[978]

petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water.

The preliminaries of [illegible] dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of [illegible] they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

[532]

[763]

THE FIRE DANCE

[226]
[556]

This dance is the prerogative of a *kusiut* named *[illegible]*, "Cohoe Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experiences of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with [illegible] rites. When *[illegible]* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *[illegible]* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer sinews which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *[illegible]* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

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but the *kusiut* all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

575
776
[illegible]
776
The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntäm* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *[illegible]* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named [illegible]. For the *sulram* of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

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The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *[illegible]*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *[illegible]* he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on successive days with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *[illegible]*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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[821]
[592]

Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

[829]

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ałikhalāslais*.

[593]
[551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

[829]
[551]
[776]
[593]

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mentlaie·smm*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsiił*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Tsiił*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nulxam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

[825]

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

*575 *796 776 825 [773] natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the [821 224] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to [532] doubt. For the *sulacam* of her *protégé*, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakánas*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *ssndamawais*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakánas* and *Dakdakánmem*, those who await *Nuákqnum*, appears merely to be an accidental re- [192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575 *796 776 184 [755]

THE DANCE OF *Almaqhaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Anu'likwutsaix* has a husband, *Almaqhaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. 796*
Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back 776
of the victim's neck and calling out, *haip*. From constant 184
repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *sulucam*, the mask representing *Almuqhaikila* is [755]
painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round [532]
protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Sjiikjiikum di Snxsklais* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *sulucam* of her Kimsquit protégés, [532]
she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

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Every morning in *Nusqulmaius* the woman *Spaicfaxy-* 796*
sumáx a goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She 776
is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *sulucam* of her [532]
protégé, a masked figure representing the *Awakener* goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the [821]
morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xomaxmitum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *sulucam* they appear and *Anu'likwalsais* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[The Dance of Dawn]

575 796 776 [582] what they do. With them comes the being *Oniicitoma*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nusisilkisaihm, also called *Tusnai·os*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *sulxam* of one of his [592] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his [431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nuvadjiqsum*, who is patron for [582] several *kukusiut*. On the *sulxam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Anu'lik-ualsais* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is [184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqalxumaicta*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s HERALD

Opalikn Alquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *sulxam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

where they arrived. *[illegible]* had given him the ability to kill mammals 424
and birds by merely projecting his power at them and in this way he 575*
obtained food for the whole party. He could also drive his victims with 796*
the aid of a peculiar stick beating orchestra, consisting of spruce cones. 539
These he arranged around a fire balanced on levers which he could move with his foot; as he pressed, the cones became animated and beat time frenziedly. It was *[illegible]* who had given him the non-human stick-beaters. *[illegible]* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded [825]
only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore those organs appear human even today.

[illegible] gave *[illegible]* the prerogative of carrying out a *burial* dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owner of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *[illegible]* has the further prerogative of wearing, when [532]
dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *Qe'ko*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of *[illegible]*, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. [illegible] (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *[illegible]*, as usual, is in attendance and explains the significance of the apparition.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *[illegible]*[illegible]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *[illegible]*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *[illegible]* himself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the [illegible] River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a [illegible] of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Secretly she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *[illegible]* himself within, working with a woman *[illegible]*. *[illegible]* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *[illegible]* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

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[illegible] Related by [illegible].

424 * 575 * 796 539 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nunuitoqqnum* had almost vanished from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Ānaˀlikwalsaix*.

"If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."

The woman did so, and *Ānaˀlikwalsaix* continued:

"I am *Ānaˀlikwalsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nunuitoqqnum* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nunuitoqqnum* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xmaasts*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nusqelst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailsix*. *Ālquntām* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar [778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Spalatdjaidaa-a*, *Sosliatmāa-a*, *Slatam-i*, and *Samsiatāa-i*. When she ● [582] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailsix*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

424 * 575 * 796 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has, in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *yaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer comes [787] automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Ālquntām* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiutam* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; 424
they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement 575*
and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the 796*
prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to 183
make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the
ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, [592]
it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kusiut* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be accompanied by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kusiut* ceremonials.

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he 424
consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks 575*
him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the 796*
night of *lxstämem*, when all the *kukusiut* are present, the bird 787
is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by
concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to [592]
catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kukusiut* call out *hoip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *nusiutsklap*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact 575
still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances 796
in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear 781
that those who were not members of the society had the great- 114
est respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the prob- 575
able history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a com- 796
parison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the 178
realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only 184
with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard 592
them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Thqots*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their
[532] ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a sacred dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

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(c) Refers to a supernatural being.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.
(e) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(f) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.
(g) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.
(h) That is: The patron counts his work.
(i) The supernatural Bark-Beater was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for [illegible], a Female Bella Coola Carpenter(a)(Dance)(b)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
When I was bold and head-strong(c), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place of(d)

[illegible]
dreaded power.

(repetition omitted)

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible](e) placed eagle down upon my head, for that reason the companions(f)

[illegible]
made light(g) for me(h).

(repetition omitted)

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Long ago(i) | Yulatimot | made this rite establish

[illegible]
the child(j).

(a) The patrons were the four supernatural carpenters. [176]
(b) Recorded as song VIII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the kusiut season of 1923-4.
(c) This song was used at the dancer's initiation; the text describes her experiences for the benefit of the uninitiated.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(e) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learnt. [176]
(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(g) In the sense of: Provided illumination.
(h) That is: The companions showed me the way to power.
(i) In the beginning of time.
(j) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk as a puppet at this dance. No further information could be obtained. [534]

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Tcibusa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Qelewaliotl* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

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[726]
[502]

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tcibusa's* brother, *Ne·ulo·s*, wore the mask of his *tutwinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *sisauk* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Potles* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Potles* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tcibusa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Potles* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tcibusa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tcibusa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Potles* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

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[726]

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[622]
[554]

Though *Potles* had decided against the immediate killing of the

Though Potles had decided against the immediate killing of the

Kitkatla, he had concerted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·omakai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·omakai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tcibusa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

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[714]

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is defi-
178 nitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[621] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *łkan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *[illegible]* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An [125] entirely different craft was the *[illegible]*, named from one of the geese, probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were chiefly of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 535 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the beams were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 [171] the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *[illegible]*.

Rafts, *[illegible]*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [171] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *[illegible]*, that is, to gather the inner bark [221] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [461] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. [412] With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

287 386 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285 177] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 [309 539 817] Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for portraying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Senl*. Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[539 177] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

*192

[825] *[illegible]*: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: One of the river sculpins.
[illegible]: To gather cedar-bark.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *[illegible]*: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
[illegible]: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
[illegible]: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mud.
[illegible]: Person or object which is taboo.
[illegible]: Evil supernatural being.
[illegible], "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
[illegible]: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
[illegible]: Sorcerer's box.
[illegible]: Part of a peculiar repository.
[illegible]: Female lover, especially a paramour.
[illegible]: Male lover.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *[illegible]*: Ceremonial chastity.
[illegible]: The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
[891] *[illegible]*: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
[illegible]: 1—Sorcerer.
2—Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Part of a peculiar repository.
[illegible]: Cedar-bark cord.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Immoral supernatural woman.
[illegible]: Afterbirth.
[illegible]: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[898] *[illegible]*: 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *[illegible]*: Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *[illegible]*, South Wind: A supernatural being.
[illegible], "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *[illegible]*: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
[illegible]: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
● [532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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[104]

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

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[757]
[789]

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

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Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian amusing himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

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[757]

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinnsikats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

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"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said

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A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Musmmish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Nusmusmish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said musmmish, but when the supposed flies left they were seen to be toads.

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Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Aniltsa, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx., called Goosss in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait.

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The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *sonomensis* O. S. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Sih lay esil. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on box boxes. There was no story of this fly.

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[592]

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Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Cho ea, and a smaller one is called Cho cho yaz, yaz signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz.

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Two kinds of little black biting fly, horn fly (*Lyperosia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Sklapis estl in Bellacoola. They are called Cho cho yaz in Ulkatcho yaz signifying small.

The Black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Three cums and Alk ca ck kotl.

Among the Ulkatcho it is called Whacko, while Yah is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as green, wet, or rotten wood.

[illegible] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of [illegible] ([illegible]), a member of the [illegible] gens, whether he might marry a [illegible] woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

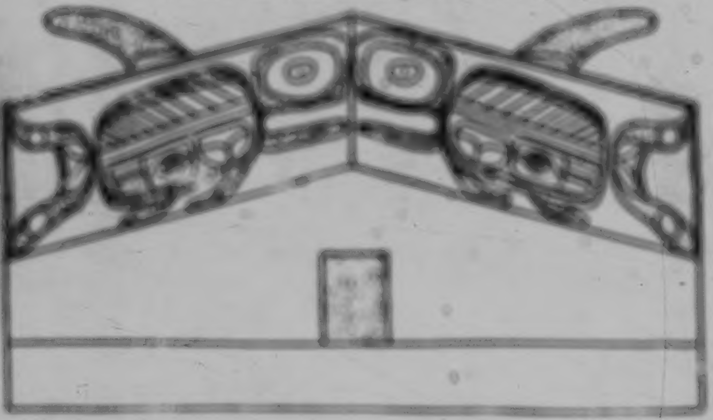

Fig. 1.—House front of the gens [illegible].

Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

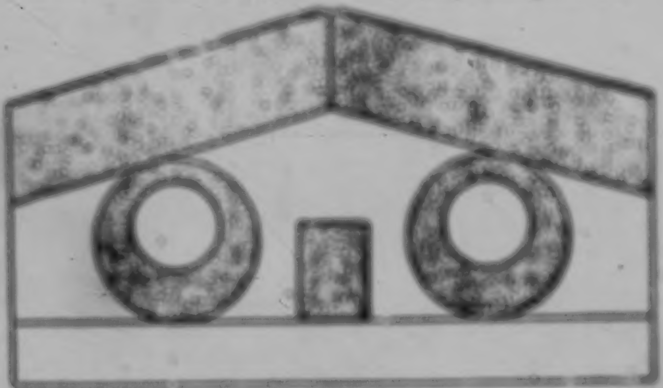

Fig. 2.—House front of the gens [illegible], representing the moon.

this by stating that [illegible]'s son married [illegible]'s daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

[illegible] The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

[illegible]
[illegible]

tribe. The crest is represented in paintings on the house front and on dancing implements. 614

The gens [illegible] has a killer whale (Delphinus orca) painted on the house front (fig. 8). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens 618

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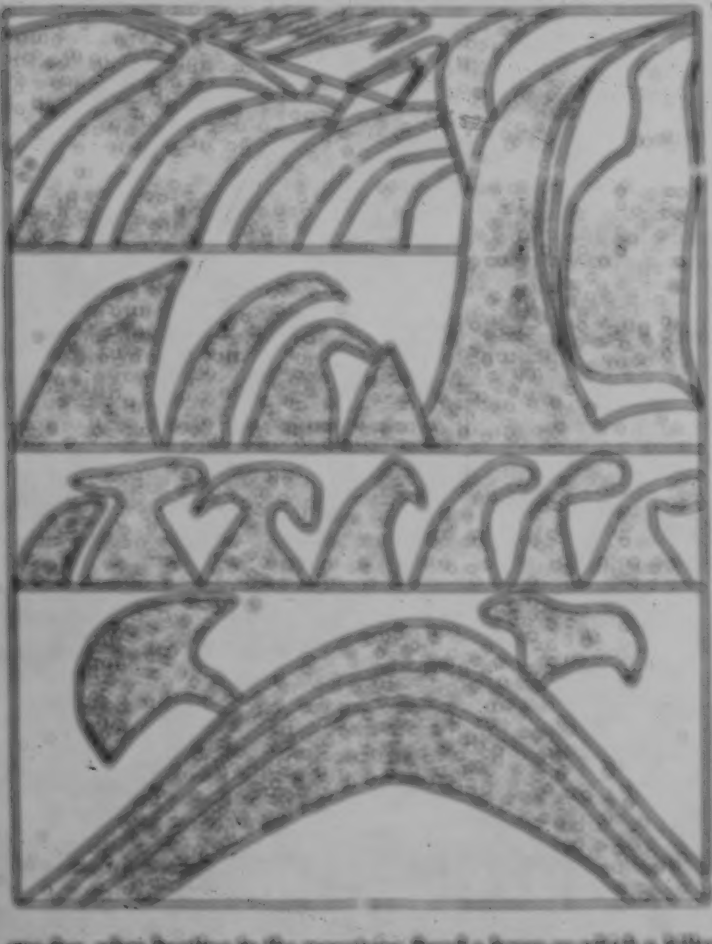
Fig. 8.—Crest of the gens [illegible], showing the mountain [illegible], with two [illegible]



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer whale was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer whale, eagle, moon, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

6.14 The gens [illegible] have [illegible] painted on the house-front, and use in dances the masks of a large kind of whale ([illegible]), of the moon, and of
973a the black bear.

342 The gens [illegible] use the mask of [illegible] ([illegible]) and the eagle.

The gens [illegible] of the [illegible] use the moon (fig. 1).

The gens [illegible] of the [illegible] use the raven, eagle, whale, the bird [illegible] ([illegible]), and [illegible], the thunder-bird. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the [illegible] suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. [illegible]).

The highest gens of [illegible] has the name [illegible] ([illegible]). He has the [illegible] represented by a [illegible] sky and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 2). Another object belonging to this crest represents [illegible].

6.14 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents.
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SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE POTLATCH.

971 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely intertwined than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
975 must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisaok, and the Kusiut. The Sisaok corresponds to the [illegible] of the northern Kwakiutl, [illegible] the Kusiut to the [illegible]. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by [illegible] deities,
974 [illegible] brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is [illegible], to whom
973 also the [illegible] is [illegible]. He resides with the others in a beautiful
976

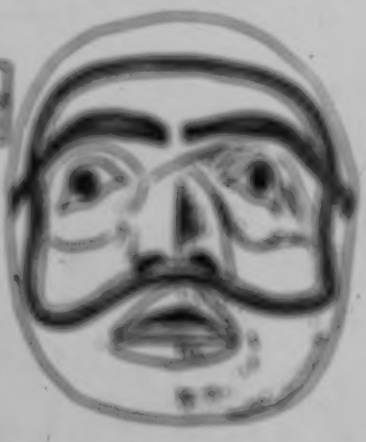

FIG. 1.—Mask representing [illegible].

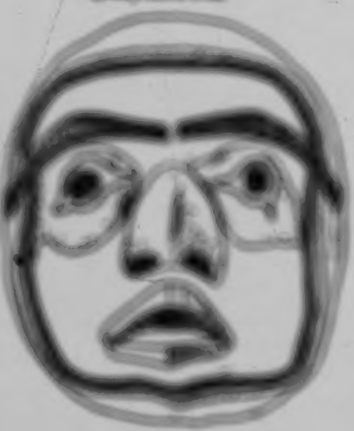

FIG. 2.—Mask representing [illegible].

house in the far east and when [illegible] every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun runs properly. The first one of these [illegible]

F.Boas B-5 ([illegible]-ca1890)1892

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are grouped in pairs and are allowed to paint their faces with designs 556
representing [illegible]. In the [illegible] these deities
[illegible] are represented by masks which I have copied. 773
[illegible] and [illegible] wear the design of the full moon, indi- 776
cated in the mask [illegible] (fig. 6) by a double curved line in red and
black, the black outside, [illegible] over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. 532
[illegible] has a [illegible] curved line in red and black, the red out- 575
side, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 7). [illegible]
(fig. 8) and [illegible] (fig.) wear the design of the crescent, drawn 776

FIG. 6.—Mask representing [illegible].

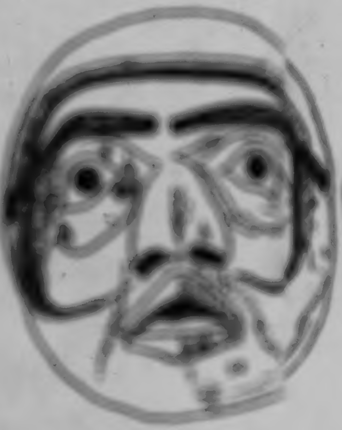
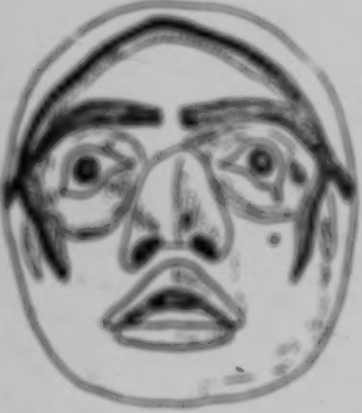


FIG. 7.—Mask representing [illegible].



in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, [illegible], and [illegible] have designs representing stars (fig. 9), both having the same style of mask. The seventh [illegible], whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The mask is called [illegible] (= who wants to have blossoms). [illegible] wears the design of a rainbow in black and blue (fig. 11). The ninth, [illegible], wears on its head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is dressed in a [illegible]. The last of the series is a woman called [illegible], the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a [illegible] (fig. 12). She figures in several [illegible] and pursued by the people whom she has [illegible].

The [illegible], which is used at potlatches and other festivals of 575
[illegible], is [illegible] into the sea. A man who had 773
gone out hunting saw the [illegible], and was instructed by him in the 776
[illegible] of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean
their houses and to [illegible] with [illegible], before he commenced to 796
[illegible]. Then he danced [illegible], and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the [illegible] had commanded them to perform this dance
and [illegible] dancing with carved headdresses with

575 773 776 [illegible] of [illegible] skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisauk. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its carvings.

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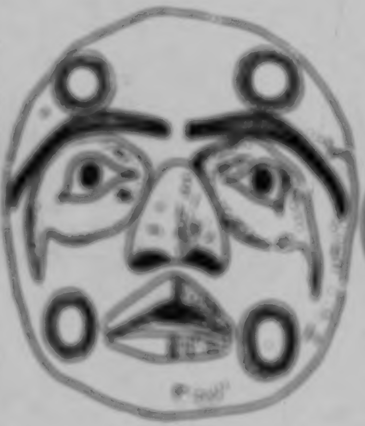
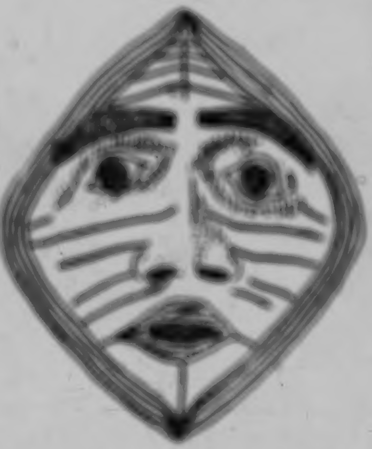
Fig. 8.—Mask representing [illegible].



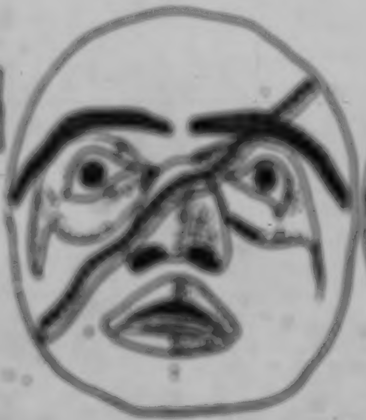
532 575 776

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible].



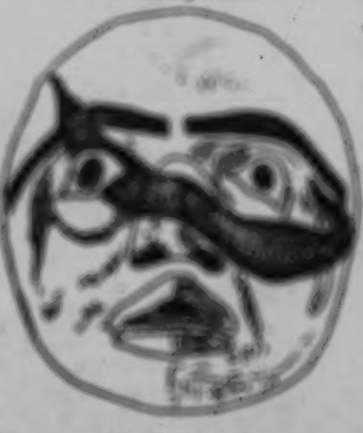
619 532 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisauk only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred possess-

422 Fig. 10.—Mask representing [illegible].



[575] [776]

Fig. 11.—Mask representing [illegible].



[5?] [27?] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, use the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

argument. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become [illegible]. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. [illegible], to whom I owe my information regarding this custom, and who is a member of the gens [illegible] of the [illegible], stated that he had received the names when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siut name, which remains the same throughout life; and a [illegible] name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, [illegible] (which is his Kū'siut name) present [illegible] name is [illegible], but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of [illegible]. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siut names of the ancestors. In two cases only the [illegible] names have been ascertained (see p. 410). When a man possesses several [illegible] secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their [illegible] secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his [illegible] secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the [illegible] carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the sacred headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens. 614 532 483 556 [567] [498] [115] 614 484 551 556 575 434 575 614 [614]

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debts. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and threw it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner of the plate. Since that time he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch. 556 426

The Kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called [illegible]. She dwells in a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. [illegible] invited her into her cave and taught 575 573 576

[illegible]

CUSTOMS REGARDING BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

[illegible]

2

[illegible] 776

[illegible] [575]

[illegible] [534]

[illegible] [534]

[illegible] 776

[illegible] 773

[illegible] 776

[illegible] 776

[illegible] 532

[illegible]

'776 tips of the salmon-berry blossoms. [illegible] has the shape of a kingfisher;
572 and [illegible] is painted with the design of a sucker bladder filled with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. [illegible] is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is [illegible]. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of [illegible].[1]

'776 In one tradition [illegible] is described as visiting houses and
'773 stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers. Formerly I had the impression that these
[114]
[575] ten deities were particularly concerned with the [illegible] ceremonial, but this impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the [illegible].

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named [illegible], in
'773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is [illegible] or [illegible].
'776 When these and [illegible] desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of [illegible]'s room. The latter then rushes out of his room
[773] and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe [illegible], they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: [illegible] came down to the mountain [illegible], where he met with the son of [illegible], the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name [illegible]. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then [illegible] took the youth to the upper heaven, past the sun in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, [illegible]. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found [illegible] sitting in front of her house; and she said to [illegible], "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[165] [1] [illegible]

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed her children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Oh! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the deluge spirit Tsu'ba'tz was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. III. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nusq'lst. A similar tradition is told of Anus,[1] by which name the Carrier call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Anus are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'enox of Rivers Inlet. 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'otsa is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'otsa, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 835

The thunderstorm is produced by the Thunderbird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunderbird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called [illegible] (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunderbird's house. In the house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunderbird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, [illegible] (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the [illegible] (Plate XI, Fig. 6); 776

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[1] [illegible]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

[illegible]

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776

Fig. 1 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 2 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 3 = Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 4 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 5 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 6 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 7 = Double mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 8 = Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 9 = Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 10 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

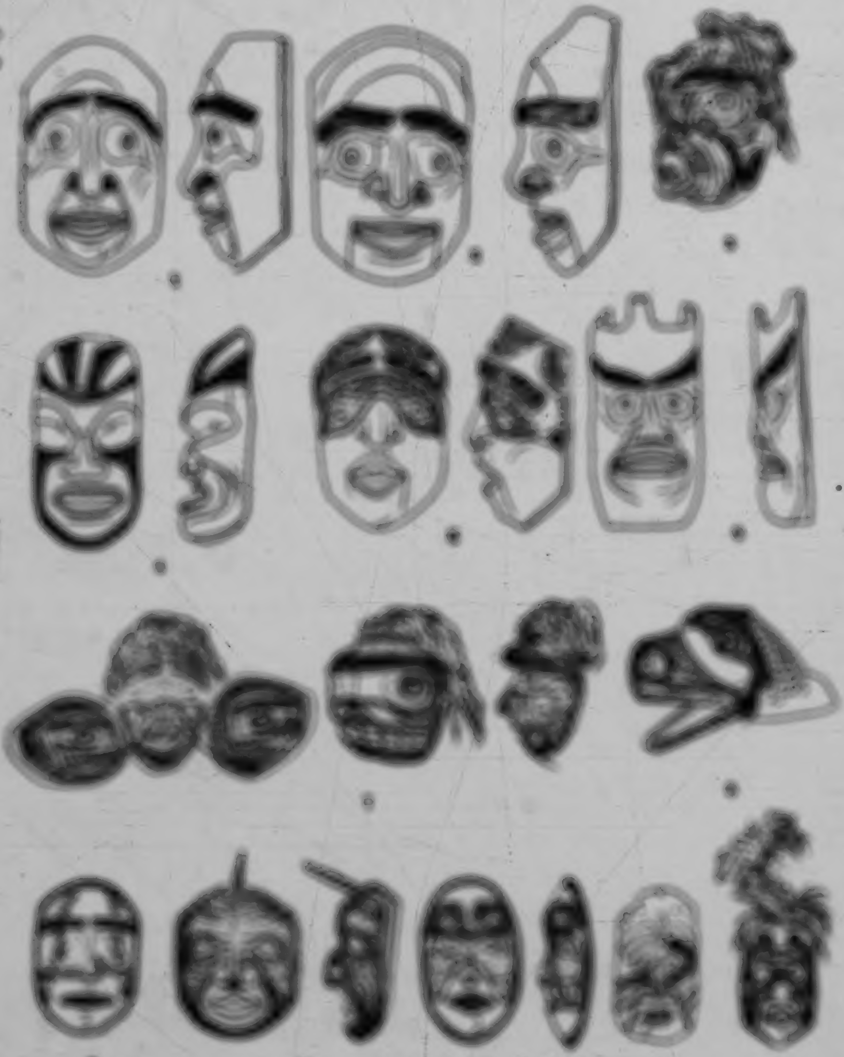
Fig. 11 = Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 12 = Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 13 = Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

[Facing End Plate VII]

[End Plates I-VI not preserved]



[illegible]

[End Plate III]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

572.
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[illegible]

Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (profile and front). [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 3.—Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible] Height, [illegible] Cat. No. [illegible]

[Facing End Plate VIII]

[illegible]

Memoirs Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. II. Plate VIII.

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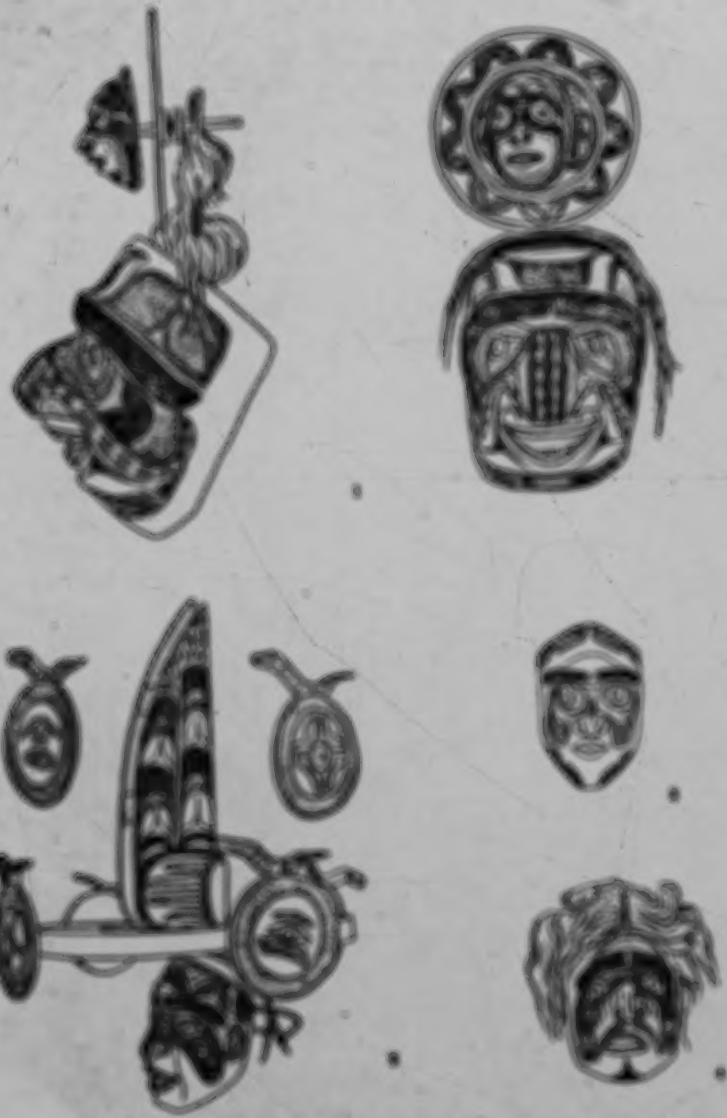

Masks of the Bella Coola Indians

[End Plate VIII]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

[illegible]

(A. [illegible])

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: stars. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing [illegible], wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing [illegible] (the kingfisher). Wings at sides of head, tail over the forehead. Natural color, black. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible], wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural color, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate IX]

[illegible]

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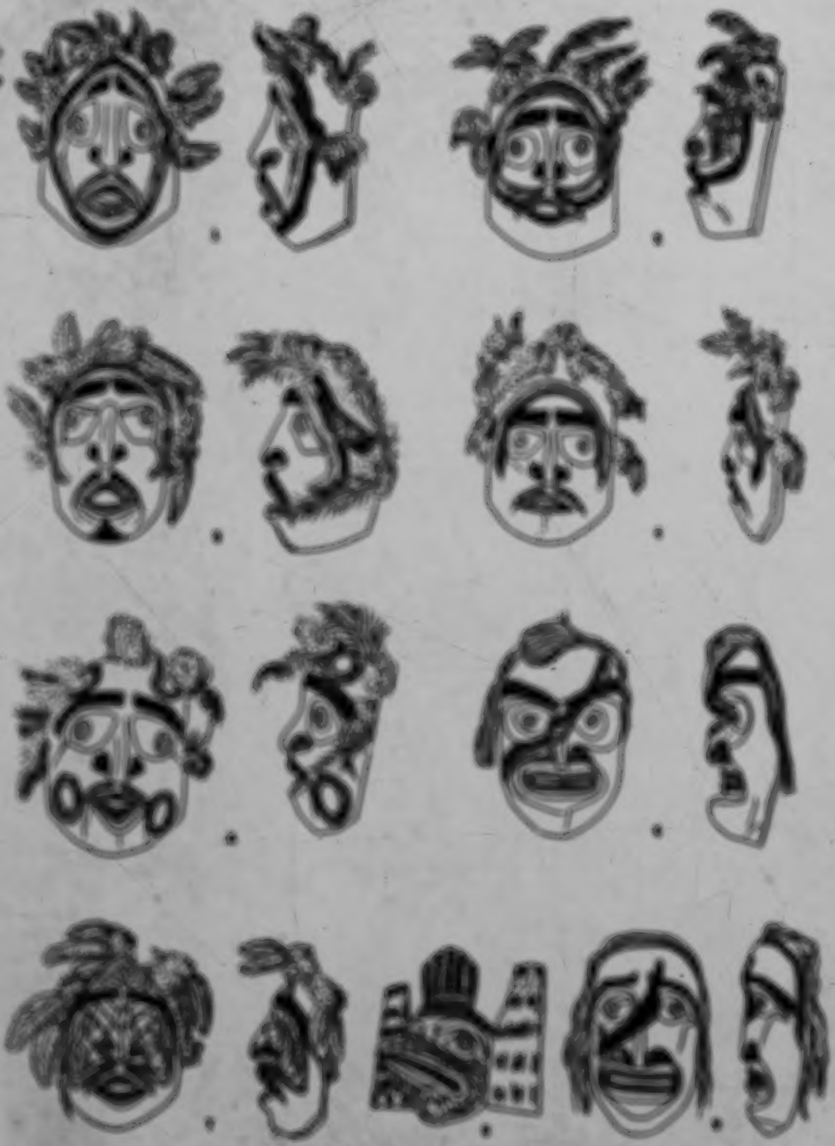

Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

[illegible]

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T76

Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible]. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing [illegible], before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the [illegible] of [illegible] (front and profile). Black, white [illegible] under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible], after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing [illegible] (the moon). Natural color, black. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 19 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate X]

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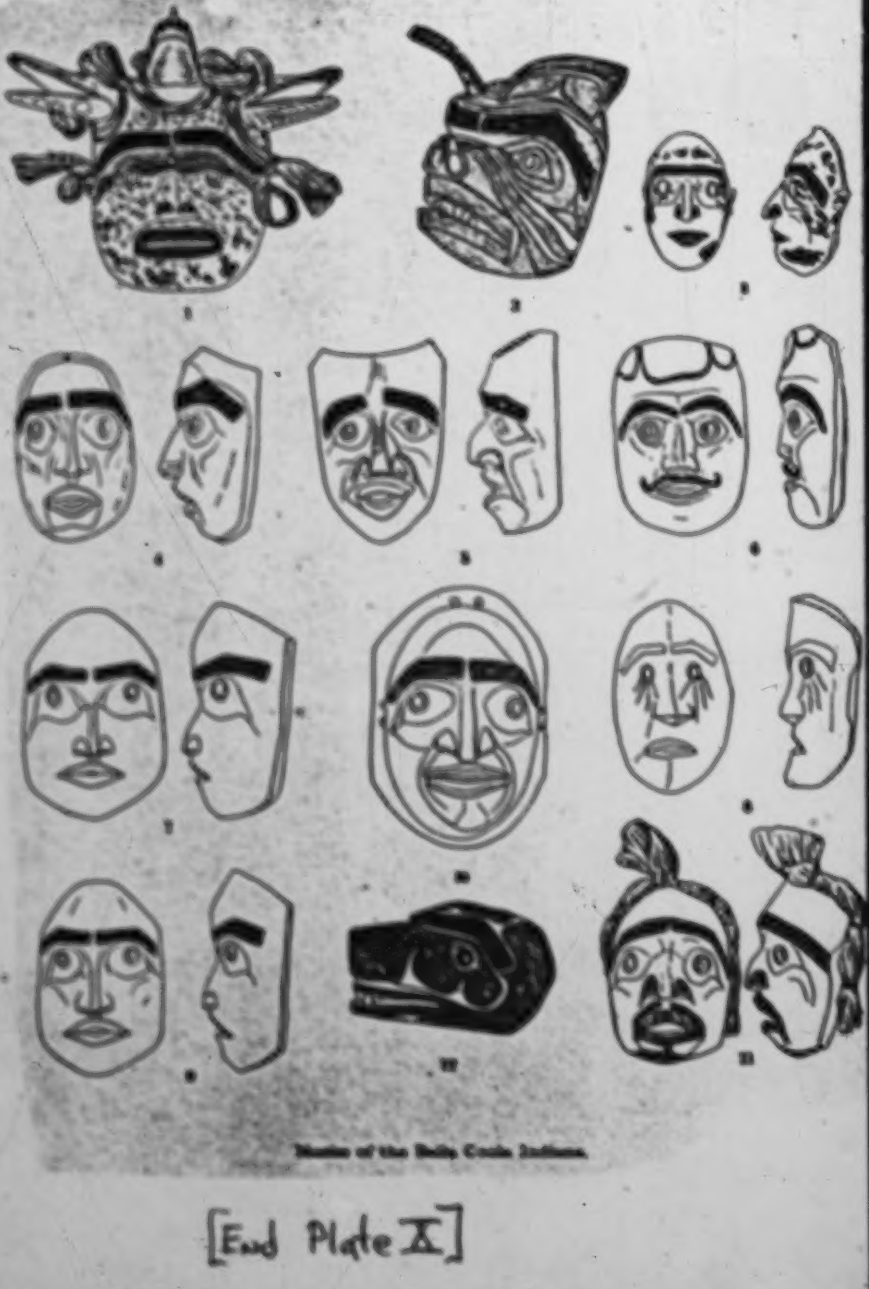
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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate X]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

⁂ Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

532
796

Fig. 1.—Mask representing the thunder-bird (front and profile). Black, red. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing ALXulā'tusum (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Lō'qots (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 19½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster K·'Tlx'ts. Red, blue, black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit Lalaiā'iL. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate XI]

[illegible]

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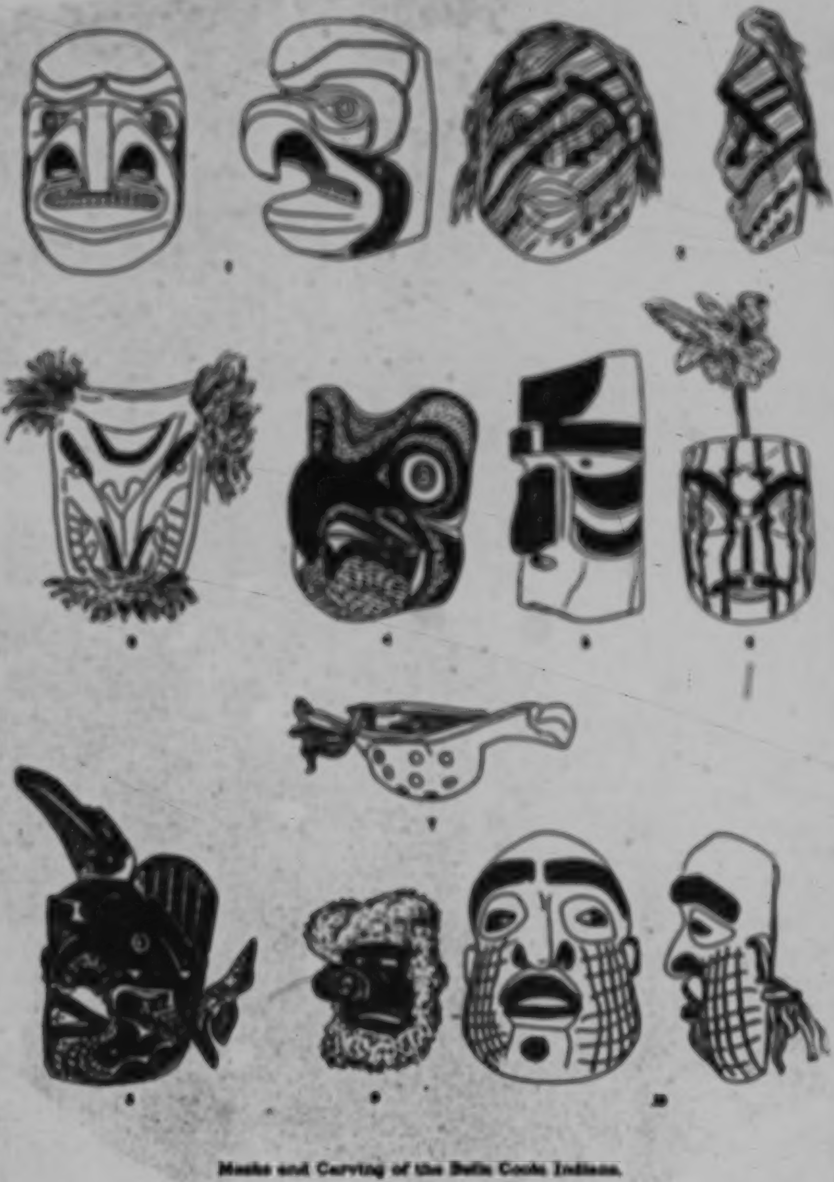
[796]



Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

[illegible] Boas E-3 (1895-ca. 1899)1900 [illegible]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

[illegible]

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776

Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the [illegible] in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 7.—Carving representing the [illegible] in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the [illegible] (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the [illegible] (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 12½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the [illegible]. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. [illegible]

[facing End Plate XII]

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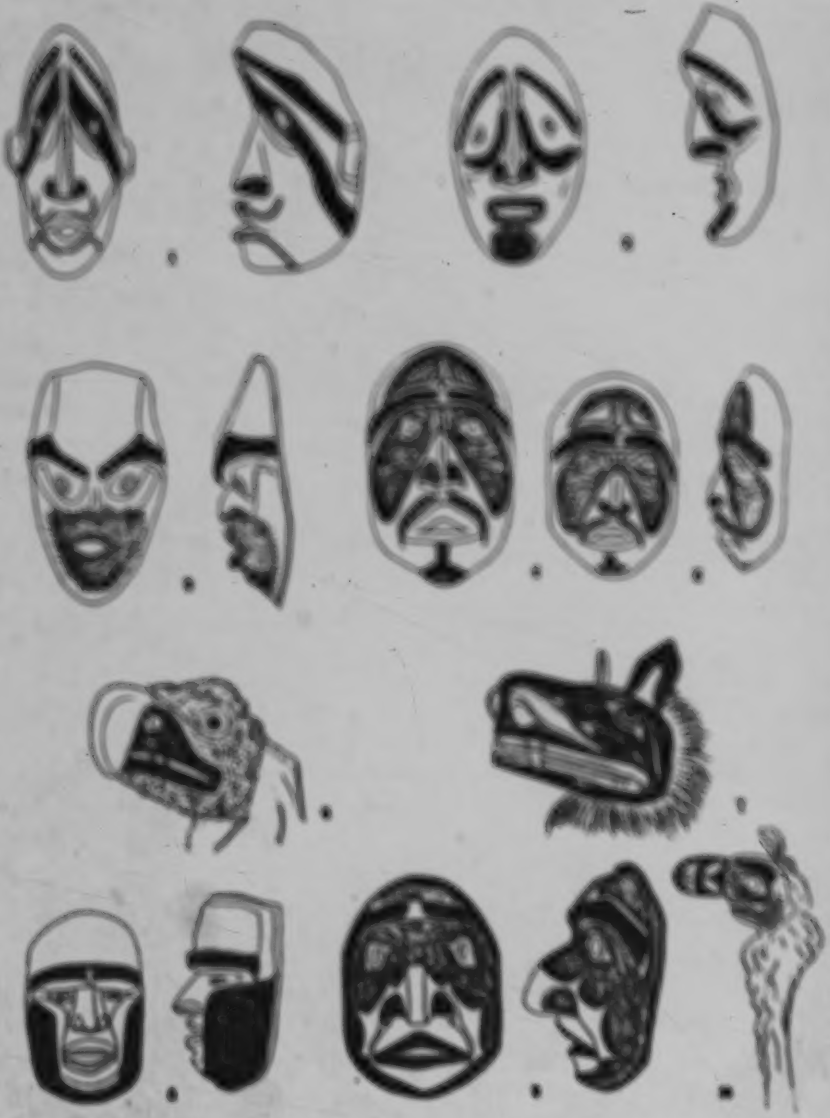

Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVI not processed]

F. Boas E-3 (1886–ca. 1890) [illegible]

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbows. In the sisau'k· these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. [illegible] and [illegible] wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of [illegible] by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. [illegible] has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. [illegible] and [illegible] wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth, [illegible] and [illegible] have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is [illegible], whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, [illegible] (who is said to have bleeding feet), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, [illegible], wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called [illegible] (the [illegible]), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and grease used by the people whom she has visited. 556 557 776 532 535 776

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its carvings. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ala'sta, the Indian, to whom I 596 773 776 776 614 424 532 [542] [534] 424 532 536 614 [567] [548] [115] gave me my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens [illegible] of the [illegible], stated that he had received the raven whistle before his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, or develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut name, which remains through life, and a sisaū'k· name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, [illegible] (which is his kū'siut name) sisaū'k· name was [illegible], but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalū'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisaū'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisaū'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisaū'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The masks and the sisaū'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anañlikuts'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she
opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anañlikuts'ai'x· invited her into her
cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
[787] blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[165] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[776] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Elaxö'La dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Ō'tsqoila (fig. 220),
the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
● [532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxö'La do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who
[362] bite people will also devour corpses. The Elaxö'La has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his
[837] initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

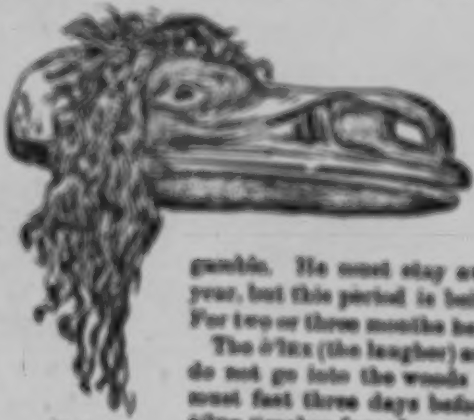

Fig. 220.
MASK OF THE Ō'TSQOILA.
Bilqula.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lnx (the laugher) and the dā'tla (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lnx "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tla carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lnx and the dā'tla, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
638 the Elaxö'La gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he
has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a
[692] mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense
has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way.
The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, [illegible] (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also [illegible] and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the [illegible], and many others.[1]

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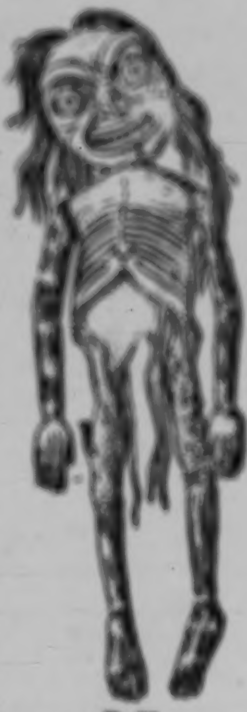

Fig. [illegible].

[illegible]

Haida.

Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by [illegible]

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NISQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial secondly from the He'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the south-western Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G·it!qa'ɫa, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The simhalai't, mē'itla', nō'ɫim, ō'lala', nanestā'l, [illegible], the last being the highest. The simhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

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[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.